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ABSTRACT

The 14 papers that make up the first of two documents, focus on a variety of topics. John Marshall's presidential address describes how educational psychological research can contribute to strategies of discipline in the classroom. John Logan reports on a study to determine pupils' participation in schooling in Ireland during the last century. Sean Griffin provides a vivid case study of the Glasnevin Village Industrial Model School 1847-1877. Sean Farren illuminates Catholic-Nationalist attitudes to education in Northern Ireland against the background of the establishment of the new and independent Free State. John Turpin sketches a portrait of teaching painting at the Dublin Metropolitan School of Art and some of the educational politics of that particular institution during a period of transition. A contemporary history of multi-denominational schooling is given by Aine Hyland. Margaret Libreri continues the theme of religious education with an analysis of rights and denominational schooling. Dennis Hainsworth discusses the notion of aesthetic education in the Soviet Union, and Patrick Costello argues the case of philosophy for primary school pupils. Desmond Swan provides a case study of the European Schools. Tom Power discusses the economics of educational planning, and John D'Arcy reports on an inquiry with probationer teachers. Connie McKernan and Ian Wells look at the integration of children with special needs in Northern Ireland, and David McEwen and others discuss a model for training adults with a wide range of mental handicaps. (Author/JB)

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Contents

Notes on Contributors ii

General Editor's Comment iii

John Marshall Classroom Discipline: Contexts, Assumptions and Techniques 1

John Logan How Many Pupils Went to School in the Nineteenth Century? 23

Sean Griffin The Glasnevin Experiment 1847 - 1877: A Case-study of Official and Religious Involvement in an Industrial Model School 37

Sean N. Farren Catholic-Nationalist Attitudes to Education in Northern Ireland, 1921-1947 56

John Turpin Problems in the Teaching of Painting at the Dublin Metropolitan School of Art in Post-Independence Ireland 74

Aine Hyland The Multi-Denominational Experience in the National School System in Ireland 89

Margaret A. Libreri Rights, Religious Education and Denominational Schools 115

Dennis Hainsworth Theory of Aesthetic Education in USSR 129

Patrick J.M.Costello When Reason Sleeps: Arguments for the Introduction of Philosophy into Primary Schools 146

Desmond Swan The European Schools - Tower of Babel or Brave New World? 160

Tom Power Planning for an Uncertain Future 180

John D'Arcy Listening to Probationers 197

Connie McKernan, Ian Wells Integration in Omagh: Views in a Special School and an FE College 211

David McEwen, Frank Joly, Mary Byrne Systematic Industrial Training for Adults for a Wide Range of Mental Handicap 219

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General Editor's Comment

In recent days, the Minister for Education in the Republic of Ireland, Mrs Mary O'Rourke, has announced that that National Institutes of Higher Education at Limerick and at Glasnevin are to be given university status. The ESAI welcomes this endorsement and wishes every success to these fine institutions of higher education. While the work of these universities in the main is more specialized and technological than the established universities we look forward to a new dialogue with the "new universities", particularly in terms of supporting educational research projects and partnerships. It seems to me that the task of the Editor will be increased now with the entering of even more theses in the Register of Theses On Educational Topics In Universities in Ireland. It is not every day that any nation can boast a new university but to get two in one day must be some sort of record! Welcome aboard Limerick and Glasnevin!.

For such a small nation as Ireland it is quite remarkable that such a broad range of educational studies, problems, and approaches emerge annually to fill the pages of Irish Educational Studies. I have always believed that the comprehensive range of interests, methodologies, and indeed, the characters, that make up the membership of the ESAI is a very potent community of discourse. Unlike many other Western nations we are not the prisoner of the "quantitative model of educational research"--a brief glance at the table of contents of any volume of Irish Educational Studies reveals a wide range of qualitative as well as quantitative styles of educational inquiry. We must protect, nurture and defend these traditions. Educational research requires the use of multiple forms of inquiry: historical, philosophical, scientific, critical-interpretive, aesthetic and deliberative models provide us with a rich set of principles of procedure for refining our own understanding and for inducting new researchers into the paradigms.

Educational research is changing. No longer the preserve of academic and educational experts, the field extends an invitation to all who work in the profession to make a contribution. Indeed, it is the mark of a profession to conduct inquiry and to discuss results with colleagues. This year we are able to publish twenty-nine papers in Volume 8 - fourteen papers in No. 1 and fifteen papers make up No. 2 of Irish Educational Studies.

Dr. John Marshall's Presidential Address focusses on a very practical matter--how educational psychological research can contribute to strategies of discipline in the classroom.

The President's Address is followed by five papers by historical researchers: John Logan conducts a study to determine pupils participation in schooling in Ireland during the last century; Sean Griffin provides a vivid case study of the Glasnevin Village Industrial Model School 1847-1877 and the pupils, student teachers, staff and Department of Education officials involved. Sean Farren of the University of Ulster illuminates Catholic-Nationalist attitudes to education in Northern Ireland against the background of the establishment of the new and independent Free State. Professor John Turpin sketches a portrait of teaching painting at the Dublin Metropolitan School of Art and some of the educational politics of that particular institution during a period of transition. A contemporary history of multi-denominational schooling is given by Aine Hyland in a carefully pieced study of the Dalkey School Project.

These historical works are followed by three contributions from educational philosophers. Margaret Libreri continues the theme of religious education with an analysis of rights and denominational schooling: Dennis Hainsworth discusses the notion of aesthetic education in the Soviet Union and Patrick Costello argues the case of philosophy for primary school pupils.

Professor Des Swan provides a case study of the European Schools; Tom Power discusses the economics of educational planning with a case study of Thomond College of Education; and John D'Arcy of NICER reports on an enquiry with probationer teachers.

We conclude Volume 8, No.1 with two papers from the field of special education: Connie McKernan and Ian Wells look at the integration of children with special needs in Northern Ireland while David McEwen discusses a model for training adults with a wide range of mental handicap.

ESAI Acknowledgement and Tribute
Professor Donal Mulcahy

It gives me great pleasure to dedicate this volume of Irish Educaitonal Studies to Professor Donal Mulcahy, who is leaving his post at UCC to take up a post as Professor of Education at Eastern Illinois University. Donal was the driving force behind the setting up of the EASI in 1976. We should recall that it was his short address at the UCG (1976) conference "An Educational Studies Association in Ireland" which provided for the establishment of the formal association of the Educational Studies Association of Ireland. Donal has been a vital force in helping the Educational Studies Association of Ireland to achieve its stated ideals. He has served continuously as a member of the Executive Committee, as Vice-President, President, and as a member of the Editorial Board since the foundation of the Association. His leaving Ireland will create a vacuum in Curriculum Studies. Donal has always been unselfish with his time and his youthful vigour, incisive intellect and graceful manner has been a model for all of us researchers who have worked with and been influenced by his ideas. We thank you for your herculean efforts at making ESAI secure. We salute you Donal for your scholarship and joyful comradery and we wish you and your family every success in your work and lives in America.

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9

Irish Educational Studies, Vol.8, No.1, 198

CLASSROOM DISCIPLINE: CONTEXTS, ASSUMPTIONS AND TECHNIQUES

John Marshall

Presidential Address

There are many approaches to Presidential Addresses. David Legge, in his recent Presidential Address to the British Psychological Society, describes three possibilities: the "Wither? or where are we going" address; the technical address based on the President's specialised area of research; and the autobiographic. I am not particularly happy with any of these approaches. I do not wish to predict the future in any subject with a "wither" paper; a rigorous presentation of my subject speciality, the training of learning handicapped children in the utilisation of cognitive strategies, is inappropriate for an address of this nature, and, as for the third alternative, I feel too young to be autobiographical.

Two principles have guided me in finally deciding on the nature of this address: firstly, one should stick to what one knows. In my case it is educational psychology. A second principle guiding me in the selection of a topic tonight involves acknowledging teachers and their work in the press and sweat of daily classroom life. It has always been an aim of ESAI to involve practicing teachers as well as researchers in its activities. We have not succeeded in fully realising this aim over the twelve years of our existence. I would hope, then, that this address would re-emphasise to us all how much ESAI values the current participation and continuing contributions of teachers, both in the classroom and in the Educational

Studies Association. Discipline and classroom management have always been topics of major concern for teachers, and they will be the major concerns of this address. Instead of reviewing the extensive literature which deals with disruptive pupil behaviour, I have decided that this address will focus on the work of Redl & Wineman (1957) and Redl & Wattenberg (1960), who utilised a set of techniques to maintain moment-to-moment control in residential and classroom contexts while also providing long-term character education to aggressive children. Recent work in the area of discipline is more concerned with those issues of classroom management which anticipate and prevent behaviour problems rather than with discipline techniques per se. However, I feel it is important to report these earlier studies in the hope that teachers might find the ideas and techniques useful. The descriptions in this address of the "influence and interference techniques" are paraphrases and substantial extracts from Smith & Hudgins (1964, pp. 275-308), Redl & Wineman (1957) and Redl & Wattenberg (1961), whom I gratefully acknowledge. Smith and Hudgins also acknowledge the writings of Kounin et al (1961) who built upon Redl & Wineman's work. In addition I am grateful to the Higher Diploma in Education students of University College, Galway, who provided me with the examples herein of the utilisation of these techniques in their own classrooms.

Some Underlying Assumptions About Discipline

A teacher does not discipline a pupil in isolation, but in context. The act of disciplining influences the personal relationships between teacher and disruptive pupil, between teacher and the rest of the pupils in the class, and occurs within the context of school, family and society generally. Therefore, in order to place the discipline techniques of this address in context, it is firstly necessary to state some reasonable assumptions that can be made which reflect the contextual nature of active behaviour management.

- Utilising discipline techniques well is an art, not a science. Therefore, no one can tell a teacher in advance precisely when, where, how and to what degree he/she should intervene. Even though general guidelines can be offered, each incident is unique, given the complexities of people and circumstance. If someone is misbehaving in class, a teacher must consider questions like: "Why is the pupil acting like he is?" "How are other pupils responding?" "How will I respond?" "How might the misbehaving pupil and others react to whatever I may do?" and so on. (Smith & Hudgins, 1964, p 276). A careful and systematic examination of these questions could take hours, yet the teacher must act easily and effectively within seconds. To do that consistently well is an art.
- In general, flexibility and versatility are important traits of character in a teacher. Teachers need to be able to think and act "on their feet". When disciplining, teachers who are easily able to utilise many kinds of techniques in controlling behaviour are more effective in a wider variety of situations than teachers who only have one response to problems in their behavioural repertoire. These latter teachers typically cause more problems than they solve.
- There are two broad aims of a teacher's intervention: in the short-term, it is to deal with problems of moment-to-moment control; in the long-term, the aim is to help pupils learn how to discipline themselves rather than being dependent upon external authorities (who will not always be around). Although any single intervention may promote one aim at the expense of the other, or further both aims (or neither aim!), a

teacher must always strive to develop pupil self-direction and control, part of character education and one of the important traits of a mature personality.

- A teacher's interventions should help to build up, over a period of time, a classroom atmosphere/ethos/mood within which problems don't tend to arise and pupils come to respect the teacher, view him/her as fair, courteous and genuinely concerned with their future and well-being. Developing classroom attitudes like mutual respect, trust and kindness requires one essential ingredient: a personal relationship between a teacher and a pupil. Overcrowded classrooms obstruct this development by encouraging anonymity.
- Even with a positive class atmosphere, a teacher's best efforts can be thwarted by a poor school spirit generally, where morale is low, where there are no consistent school policies on discipline, no back-up from principals or counsellers, no close relationship between school and home, or where the teacher has no recourse to a psychological service, remedial teacher, or other service for advice and help, where curriculum is irrelevant or where no proper recognition and support are given for legitimate activities and outlets like sports.
- It is also the case that teachers bear the consequences of society's problems as families and communities face deprivation and unemployment. It is becoming harder for teachers to convince pupils of a relationship between studying hard and getting a job. As pupils realise that society is offering them only unemployment or emigration after their education, feelings of alienation can grow. Teachers as well as others then have to deal with this despair and anger in many of the young.

Influence and Interference Techniques

Redl & Wineman established a home in the States for problem children and were interested in how the residential staff and teachers coped with the severely disruptive behaviour encountered daily. They called them "children who hate; children whom nobody wants." The children were about eleven years of age, most from deprived inner-city areas who had histories of trouble in school and with the law. Smith & Hudgins concluded that in general these children "... had limited frustration tolerance; they were unable to cope with insecurity, anxiety and fear; they could not resist temptation; they were unable to take care of possessions for later use; they panicked at new situations; they had difficulty remaining reasonable under the impact of unexpected satisfactions and gratifications; they had little realism about rules and routines; and they were unable to contain or control themselves in simple competition" (p.273).

I think it can be seen that the problems for these children were ones of teaching and learning. They did not have the social skills and attitudes to enable them to interact reasonably with most other people. Thus, while the short-term problem was immediate control, the long-term problem is one of teaching and learning skills and attitudes. Below are descriptions of the techniques which Redl & Wineman found useful in helping these children to cope and to learn, extracted and paraphrased from Smith & Hudgins (1964), pp. 275-308.

A. Supporting Self-Control

These six techniques assume that the misbehaviour arises from a temporary lack of control on the part of the child and that the teacher is merely reminding the pupils to regain control. The advantages of these techniques are 1) they are "low pressure" intrusions which do not usually provoke counter aggression (One mistake inexperienced teachers may make is to overact in situations where a simple intervention will solve the problem); 2) the pupil maintains his/her autonomy; 3) the misbehaviour in many cases is stopped before it develops further; and 4) they present and clarify values and points of view without at the same time being punishing (Smith & Hudgins, 1964, p.277)

1. Signals

> Even though my new class comprised thirty, 13 year old first years, they had somehow learned that I was 'only a Dip'. Furthermore they had become used to me sitting at the back of their class observing and were quite prepared for my entrance on the Wednesday that I was to begin class for the first time on my own. Anyway I entered the classroom as casually, yet assertively as possible, expecting instant attention. What a disappointment! All during the class some of them continued to giggle and were disturbing those who were trying to read the short story that I had chosen. I tried to ignore it but knew that I was in trouble if it did not stop. By the following Wednesday I had decided to use the signal of a brief silence. Not very original I must admit but it served its purpose for that class period. it was met with uncomfortable shifting and shuffling on the offenders' part and they actually stopped their racket. But, by the following Wednesday the problem had re-presented itself. This time they ignored my brief silence so I have to adopt some other method of control. I have no intention of appealing to the little horrors.

As well as brief silences, signals can take the form of a tap on the desk, stopping and staring at a pupil, or calling a pupil by name. They are useful when not used too often and with children who are generally in control. They are not useful when the problem is more serious or the child is "out of control".

2. Proximity Control

This technique rests on the fact that excitement or restlessness is frequently taken care of by teachers simply moving closer to the child. The following example seems a simple solution to a momentary lack of control. Note also how the teacher has not stirred up the rest of the class by his intervention.

> A first year class, and I ask certain pupils to read aloud from their texts while the remainder of the class follows in the book. Then I see two students (sitting in one long desk) involved in some sort of game with their pens. They are not following in the book. I walk slowly around the room and approach the two offending students from the rear. The reader continues reading and the class does not know my intent. When I reach the two students I put my finger under the line in the text at which the reader now is. The students are surprised and immediately turn their attention to following the book again. I remain beside their desk for a few moments then move on and continue to walk about the room. The result is that the two offending students continue to pay attention to the task for the remainder of the class.

3. Humour

Most teachers have used humour or a joke occasionally to lessen tension, break up a quarrel, or as a way of offering insights or "lessons of living". A display of humour by a teacher can show that he/she is sufficiently in control and secure enough to light-heartedly deal with a problem. Humour can provide a face-saving out for a child who has worked himself up to a misbehaviour he doesn't want to carry out. A teacher's offer of humour might be accepted with great relief by this child. In addition, gentle humour can promote personal growth. A pupil laughing at himself in a problem situation can begin the process of self-reflection which often precedes attitude and behaviour changes. However, there are two important caveats: 1) teachers should avoid sarcastic or cynical humour directed at pupils. It is anxiety-provoking, destructive and hurtful, although the pupil may hide the hurt; 2) teachers should also beware of loss of self-respect. A teacher should not use humour from a position of weakness, but instead in a relaxed and confident manner (Smith and Hudgins, 1964, p. 280)

> Form 3 were a well-disciplined boys' class at Inter-Cert level and I had them for maths and science. It was my practice during class to send various individuals to the board to make calculations, or label a diagram, etc., and in keeping with the notion that teacher should use his classroom as a stage, I would move to the rear of the class, handing the chalk to the chosen pupil while in transit. I hadn't noticed it at first, but it became evident that facial expressions altered in boys each time little Frank went to the board and stopped as soon as I turned at the back of the room. It seemed obvious to me that Frank was engaging in theatrics when my back was turned. So, I turned quickly the next time to find Frank 'pulling' grotesque faces and hunching up his small shoulders in an attempt to imitate my six-foot stature. An indescribable awkwardness immediately befell the little fellow and he began to twist the textbook anxiously which he was holding. The class was dead silent and tense. Taking my text, I proceeded to imitate his unfortunate predicament by twisting my text which brought hearty laughter from both himself and the class. The incident was immediately diffused, no one lost face, and the class proceeded as normal. And Frank learned that even the class jester can become the subject of his own humour.

4. Interest Boosting

Encouraging misbehaving pupils to become involved with the task at hand is another low pressure technique of control. Interesting tasks impose their own kind of discipline.

> A pupil in class did not seem the least interested in what I was doing. She distracted others around her and when I corrected her a few times she seemed to get a certain satisfaction out of that. I knew she was capable of doing well so I asked her if she would help me to explain a new idea in our Science class. She seemed amazed but she responded and next day she was a changed girl in her approach to class. She now knows that I expect a lot form her. She could no longer sit there and not participate. She enjoyed being called on to give her idea and opinion. She knows that I have confidence in her and that I trust her and her ideas. Getting people interested through making them feel that they have something to offer can be a great help.

and also:

> I have encountered a discipline problem in my class since I began teaching in September. There was one girl in my class who posed a problem from the very beginning. She got great satisfaction by being a source of distraction for the other girls in class. She continually talked in class and provoked others. Putting her standing up in class proved ineffective as she gazed out the window or continued her mischevious behaviour. When checked in class she became defiant. Her talking in class became continuous so I resorted to giving her lines to write out. I gave her 100 lines one night. The next day she came in with 150 lines written out. At this stage I decided to investigate the girl's background. I discovered that she comes from a very unsettled home and as such longed for attention in class. Upon hearing this I decided to change my strategy, so I separated her from her friends and gave the class new seating arrangements. The girl wanted attention so now I give her all the attention I can. I get her to do out exercises on the board, keep asking her questions to keep up her interest. I found that this strategy has worked as she is much more involved in the subject and does her homework and other work during class.

5. Diversion

Every parent uses diversionary tactics with their young children as a way of directing them away from misbehaviour. A toddler headed towards the glass vase may be told,"Look, Seamus, see the ball (or doll, or doggie, or whatever)." In the classroom a teacher can usefully divert by asking a question of the inattentive or mildly misbehaving pupil.

> The class is generally well-behaved and discipline problems are usually of a minor type such as whispering in class, fiddling with pencils or scribbling on copies. The main cause for this type of distraction lies in the same pupils. I have successfully dealt with this by asking the particular pupil for their view on something under discussion or asking questions on something previously learned.

6. Planned Ignoring

Planned ignoring is not hiding. Rather, it acknowledges that a teacher cannot react to all minor problems and in some situations it is best to deliberately ignore the misbehaviour. However, a teacher who consistently ignores problems is inviting further trouble. A minor problem might be ignored when 1) the behaviour will soon die of its own accord; 2) when the behaviour is within the range of tolerability; or 3) when the pupil has ulterior purposes which the teacher thwarts by not "rising to the bait" at that moment (Smith & Hudgins, 1964, p. 283)

> At the beginning of class I noticed that one pupil was absent. I asked pupils where the missing member of class was. One of them hinted something about Seapoint (disco) the previous night and of the missing pupil's elopement. I pretended not to hear the remark and proceeded into the lesson.

The above techniques of supporting self-control (signals, proximity control, humour, interest-boosting, diversion, planned ignoring) are subtle, efficient and effective when used sparingly with a group that is basically well-behaved.

B. Task Assistance: The Removal of Frustration

These techniques operate from the perspective of classroom activities as a series of graded tasks presented by the teacher, each one a bit more difficult. Sometimes for some pupils these tasks, or barriers, are too difficult to surmount and the resulting failure and frustration may elicit discipline problems.

7. Hurdle Help

A preschooler rising in the morning is faced with many barriers to overcome: tying shoe laces, combing hair, putting on shirt and buttoning. Most parents realise that if failure at each barrier produces frustration and misbehaviour, the child may never get dressed. Thus the parent assists the child over the hurdle, perhaps by buttoning all but the last button, which the child then manages himself. This doesn't ignore the fact that the child must and eventually will overcome these barriers himself. It simply means that less frustration, disruption and misbehaviour will occur to hinder the task of learning (Smith and Hudgins, 1964, p. 285)

> The German lesson had begun and as part of the night's exercise was spellings, I told them I'd give a written test on the spellings. A quick glance at the copies told me they didn't know them, so we started learning the spellings in class. One word created some difficulty, 'die Bahnhofstrasse'. We spelt out the word together a few times, then individually, but one child couldn't spell it correctly. I asked Martin to spell it, telling Peter to pay attention, but Peter still couldn't manage it, and seeing his lower lip quivering slightly, I gave him a big smile, told him that he had spelled most of it correctly and study the word in the book. Peter

> seemed so appreciative of the way I'd dealt with the situation that he really applied himself and next day proudly spelled it. His response was really rewarding as I felt I'd done the right thing at the right time.

This teacher's "hurdle help" encouraged learning, prevented possible misbehaviour arising from failure and showed Peter that she had an interest in his well-being.

8. Restructuring

It may happen that a teacher plans an activity only to find that the momentary needs of the children do not fit in or something happens to upset things. In these cases it is sometimes wise to restructure the programme or activity, because persevering would cause major disruptions. A teacher allotting two hours to practice a Christmas concert may find after one hour the class is not able. Rather than carrying on regardless, it might be better to conclude practice and begin another activity.

9. Routines

Routines are of great help in maintaining classroom order, particularly when they are adopted as group norms and pupils help to regulate their peers. The effective teacher has made routines of tasks like distributing paper, copying assignments, entering or leaving the room (Smith & Hudgins, 1964, p. 286)

> When I began teaching, I had no set routine for my class. As a result there was so structure. The students did not behave properly in this situation. I think they felt insecure in this atmosphere of haphazardness. I too felt insecure. Then I introduced a method of routine, I divided classes into three unequal parts. After the initial introduction, I first corrected the written exercises, moving through the class pointing out mistakes and making them do corrections. Next I examined the lesson I had

> introduced the previous day and then I taught a new lesson. The last five or ten minutes were given over to a summary of the day's lesson and assigning homework. Over the weeks I have found pupil performance has improved because of this routine. I think that routine may be a disadvantage if it is too rigidly fixed. I think that the pupils would become bored.

10. Painless Removal

A pupil might be isolated from the class when 1) there is physical danger to himself or the group; 2) the pupil is so worked up and excited that no other technique is effective; 3) removing the pupil would give him a way to save face; 4) you wish to demonstrate that the limits you have set are meaningful.

> I went into the classroom at the beginning of the class and all stood up for prayer. One boy was slow to stand up and began to make faces at me. After the prayer was said I began checking on exercises and this individual started whistling. I stopped and looked at him and he stopped. I continued checking the exercises when he started whistling again and began to hum. The class was reasonably quiet during all this time. I went over and told the boy to leave the room. There was no reaction, so far as I could see, from the class. In fact, we got down to work fairly quickly after that and got some work done. The following day, when I had the same class, the boy behaved normally and paid reasonably good attention during class. I was happy enough with the result of what happened. I think he learned that he can't conduct himself in that way in my class.

Of course it is wrong to tell pupils to leave the room only to have them wandering about in corridors. If it is part of school policy to remove children from classes, then there must be a place of isolation where they remain until dealt with.

11. Physical Restraint

A teacher may find it necessary to physically restrain an out-of-control pupil when he might otherwise injure another pupil, himself, or do damage to school property. Physical restraint should not been seen as physical punishment. Instead it is non-punitive: the teacher is assisting the pupil to restrain himself until he calms down and regains self-control.

12. Anticipatory Planning

This technique involves a teacher telling pupils in advance the correct procedures/routines to follow in circumstances where misbehaviour might occur. Such an approach helps further the long-term objective of self-control: pupils learn to pause and anticipate the consequences and implications of their actions.

13. Removing Seductive Objects

Are items in the classroom placed out of temptation's way? Is the football beside the door where it can be kicked by those entering or leaving? Is the globe within reach of pupils who are tempted to give it a spin?

> Biology laboratory, last period Thursday evening. The first year class were a little restless, many had started their after-school conversations and continually needed to be checked. I had just turned around from a chart at the front of the class and was talking about the lungs. I noticed that a conversation being carried out between two front-row pupils was yet again in progress. One of the boys bent down and started reading, or commenting, on the graffiti written on the other boy's bag, which was sitting on the table. It was clear that this was the source of the distraction, so I asked that the bag be placed on the floor. Had I been more alert I should not have permitted the bag on the bench. In future it will be a lab rule 'bags on the floor'.

C. Reality and Value Appraisals

These techniques are based on the assumption that people need to develop a sense of fairness and a working conscience which will help guide their behaviour. Teachers can help when some types of misbehaviour occur by evaluating the incidents in one-to-one discussions with pupils after class.

14. Direct Appeals and 15. Interpretations

During the discussion a teacher may appeal to a) *a personal relationship* ("Listen, you needn't have acted up like you did. Why didn't you let me know the reason why your exercise wasn't completed? You know I would have listened."); b) *physical realities* ("You could have done permanent injury to your friend by pulling his chair."); c) *social roles* ("What do you think the rest of the class feel about your childish behaviour?") or d) *personal values* ("Do you really want to be the sort of person who does that kind of thing?"). To appeal is *not* to beg. Instead the teacher, working from a strong, confident and calmly reasoned position, is helping the pupil to evaluate and interpret the misbehaviour as part of long-term character education. These talks lose their effectiveness if over-used or ill-timed. An extremely excited pupil, for example, is less able to profit from reasonable discussion (Smith & Hudgins, 1964, p. 290)

> The class is generally good, they are bright pupils - eager to learn French but problems arise due to the presence of one disruptive pupil. Because of her I found I was losing control over the class and my own self-confidence. She was constantly making 'smart' comments, causing other pupils to follow her behaviour. I decided that the best way to deal with her was not by condemning her in class, but by giving her my personal attention afterwards. So I told her after class that she was a bright,

> intelligent girl who was only wasting her talents that that if she took her work seriously she could be a very good French speaker, and so on. The next day I found a total transformation - she was passive and interested and I believe she appreciated my advice to her as a friend.

Saunders (1979) offers general guidelines for these "heart-to-heart" talks. He feels they should be conducted in private, with no hint of intimidation and based on existing personal relationships between teacher and pupil. Teachers should a) establish the need for frankness; b) evaluate the misdeeds; c) link cause and effect; d) discuss ways in which the pupil could have behaved better; and e) establish the most effective action for the future (p.103). It is clear that effective use of reality and value appraisals depends a great deal upon a teacher's knowledge of pupils' values and rudimentary consciences. This knowledge is derived, over time, from a sensitive perception of and interest in every pupil.

D. Invoking Pleasure and Pain

16. Promises and Rewards

The use of promises and rewards are prevalent in most social contexts. In the classroom teachers as leaders are often in the position of rewarding desirable behaviour. In general, those behaviours which are followed by rewards are more likely to be repeated. Although simple in principle, in practice the effective use of rewards and promises is a complex activity. A teacher must be aware that a pupil may focus on the reward itself and not the desired activity. Particularly with promises of future rewards, a teacher must ascertain whether a pupil has enough self-control to keep to the conditions of the promise and future. But, for most children, rewards and promises can extend their tolerance for immediate frustration, enlarge their planning activities and help them develop long-term goals in anticipation of success (Smith & Hudgins, 1964, p. 295)

Teachers use *social rewards* more often. They are rewards found in the behaviour of other people and include expressions (e.g. smiling) or praising words and phrases (e.g. correct; well-done; good work). Walker and Adelman (1975) in fact list over 100 words, phrases and facial/bodily expressions which may indicate approval of other people's behaviour (They also list over 200 words and expressions which indicate disapproval!). Other categories of rewards useful in school include material rewards (e.g. prizes); *symbolic rewards* (e.g. marks, tokens, gold stars) and *activity rewards* (e.g. playing games or other desirable activities).

> On my first day in the class a small, pale-faced boy was inattentive and playing with his biro. When I asked him a question he said absolutely nothing. I hinted at the answer - still no reply. I rephrased the question and put it to the class. Someone answered and I continued. The boy - John - stopped all activity and seemed extremely withdrawn - almost to the point of being 'disturbed'. For the next class I gave him fairly 'easy' homework. When I looked at the work in class I saw that he had done the homework correctly. 'Good stuff, John!' I said and wrote the same on his copy. Since then I have been praising him for whatever he does correctly and I have noticed he is coming out of himself in class."

17. Threats

A threat is a signal that warns a pupil that certain undesirable events will or may follow. Threats are often effective in suppressing behaviour at any moment but they can be dangerous (a) if a teacher threatens something he/she cannot do; or (b) if a teacher allows pupils to escape from the consequences of a threat. In most cases, following through with a threat once or twice is sufficient to establish that a teacher's words have meaning (Smith & Hudgins, 1964, p. 296)

> My first year maths class were becoming progressively worse with each lesson. I particularly blamed the situation on one student who was the class clown. Seamus was always looking for attention. My constant reprimanding did not in the least seem to deter him. One day I lost patience and told him I would bring him down to the Principal at the end of the lesson. For the remainder of the class I had no trouble. At the end of the class I called Seamus and beckoned him to come with me to the Principal's office. He was terrified and near to tears. He pleaded with me to let him off this once, promising he would never cause trouble again. I agreed on the condition that if he broke his promise he would get no second chances. As a result the standard of discipline in my class has improved greatly. Seamus is not causing trouble. If he ever does, I will not hesitate to bring him to the Principal."

In this example, the student teacher's initial threat could be considered a warning. It is imperative that Seamus be taken to the Principal if he again acts the clown. No excuses, promises or discussion should be entertained. Otherwise Seamus will have truly escaped the consequences of his actions.

18. The Authoritative Verbot

Situations may arise when a teacher gives an order and demands obedience with no questions, discussion or argument and no delaying. This technique is most effective when the misbehaviour arises from temporary excitement, the pupils have gone further than they want, and need a way out. However, authoritative commands lose their power when over-used.

> I went into my first year maths class finding to my consternation that control seemed almost impossible. Having corrected individual class members numerous times but to no avail I slowly felt frustration rising within me. I began to correct the previous day's exercise but each pupil was so anxious to come to the board that chaos broke out at once. My patience at an end I walked to the head of the classroom and taking up an authoritative position demanded absolute quietness. The result - absolute quietness. I went on to say 'I want no more noise. Sit down immediately.' Thankfully it worked and we continued at a much calmer pace.

19. Punishment

Few terms are more widely used and more poorly understood than punishment. The simple question often asked, "Is punishment good or bad?" is too general to be answered. It depends on who is punishing whom, with what sort of punishment, for what reason and within what sort of relationship.

Punishment is an aversive stimulus applied after a misbehaviour. Although all teachers must punish at one time or another, it should be done with care because of three possible side effects: (a) particularly with severe punishment, pupils may resort to avoiding the punisher by running away, lying, ignoring, evading or cheating. The undesirable result is breakdown in communication and loss of opportunities to teach the pupil correct forms of behaviour; (b) the resentment, even hate or rage which may be aroused by punishment can also interfere with learning correct behaviour; and (c) punishers may be providing some kinds of pupils with a model of aggression. Some common punishments used in schools now or in the recent past include scoldings, detention, sending to the Principal, conferring with parents, changing a pupil's seat, deprivation, reparation (making good what was done wrongly, e.g. initials carved on a desk are sanded off; breaking the rule of running up stairs means the pupil returns to the bottom of the stairs and walks up); suspension, expulsion and, now illegal in Ireland, corporal punishment. Teachers must not always assume that these punishments are aversive with every pupil. For the pupil starved of attention, they may be rewarding (Smith & Hudgins, 1964, p. 298) Good & Brophy (1973, 1977) offer some guidelines for the use of punishments. Briefly, punishments should (a) be used when the misbehaviour leaves no alternative; (b) follow closely after the offence; (c) be simple and short; (d) be threatened before being used; (e) be ideally a logical consequence of the offence; and (f) be administered deliberately rather than emotionally and uncontrolledly (Cited in Saunders, 1979). Once the penalty is paid a teacher should not bear a grudge and should convey to the pupil that the slate is clean. Because punishment does not in itself eliminate a misbehaviour but only suppresses its expression, a pupil should also be told exactly what the desired behaviour is, and arrangements should be made for the pupil to enact the desired behaviour, which is then rewarded. Effective punishment is always paired with encouragement and reward of correct behaviour.

Conclusion and Comment

In this short address I have attempted to describe and illustrate some common discipline techniques which teachers might use to maintain control. I have stressed that the application of these techniques occurs not in isolation, but within wider contexts which proceed from a number of working assumptions. The truly effective classroom manager is not only technically proficient in employing the techniques to solve immediate problems, but also works towards achieving long-term goals such as a positive classroom atmosphere where problems tend not to arise and pupils are largely self-controlling. Consistent and comprehensive school policies on discipline can help the individual teacher to realise these goals.

Although I did not illustrate the richness, diversity and relevance of educational psychology I hope that this address has shown how investigations in educational psychology can be useful for teachers. However, teachers should note that the link between psychological research and teaching is not a direct one. As William James, the American philosopher and psychologist and teacher said to his fellow teachers:

> You make a great mistake if you think that psychology, being the science of mind's laws, is something from which you an deduce definite programmes and schemes and methods of instruction for immediate classroom use. Psychology is a science, and teaching is an art; and sciences never generate arts directly out of themselves. An intermediary inventive mind must make the application, by using its originality (James, 1902, p. 7).

It is my hope that, within our Association, the scholarly research of eduational psychologists will continue to inform the original, inventive minds of teachers.

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HOW MANY PUPILS WENT TO SCHOOL IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY?

John Logan

Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to consider the usefulness of the data which are available for estimating the size of the Irish nineteenth century pupil population and to attempt a reconstruction of its trend. Most accounts of nineteenth century education include some reference to the number of pupils by quoting the official statistics of pupils attending weekday schools which are available for a particular year. When this occurs it is generally without reference to the longer trend. The changing circumstances of data collection and the developments which took place in statistical science during the course of the century are reflected in the varying quality of what is available. Nonetheless, this has not prevented its use without due consideration of its significance nor of the extent to which one set of figures might be compared with another. The official enumerations and subsequent secondary accounts, have in general, focussed exclusively on pupils attending weekday schools. This has meant that pupils attending Sunday Schools and those who attended schools outside of the country or who were tutored in their own homes have been excluded from the estimates. The need for a file of comparable and comprehensive pupil statistics stretching over a longer period stems from the central importance of school population size in the history of education, in particular during periods of growth and expansion.

The Data

1. Day school pupils

From the initial abortive census of 1813-15,[1] pupil enumeration emerged as one of the concerns of the national census of population and the decennial series from 1821 until 1911[2] (when the last census of the whole country under a single authority was undertaken), survives as the major data file on enrollment and attendance. Along with the results of two national enquiries into education carried out in 1824 and 1834 respectively, this constitutes an impressive bank. It contains a total of 26 enumerations carried out on eleven different occasions, evenly spaced through the period from 1821 to 1911.[3] The enumeration methods were not uniform: it is possible to identify nine distinctive measurement instruments and that, combined with the varying quality of the data, significantly reduces the opportunity for making comparisons. Consequently the data can be divided into three different categories on the basis of quality, the statistical concepts used and the period covered.

The first category comprises data generated by the national census of 1821 and the educational enquiries undertaken in 1824 and 1834. The 1821 enumeration is of pupils present when the enumerators called to schools during the summer of that year.[4] The enumerators were inadequately briefed local worthies and it is clear from the published report of the census that the omission of many schools and pupils resulted in significant underestimation.[5] The 1824 survey depended on the cooperation of the Anglican and Roman Catholic parochial clergy and their attempts to establish the enrollment of each school were hindered by territorial unfamiliarity, the hostility of partisan school authorities and

33

ambiguous directions from the sponsors of the enquiry. As a result, the commissioners retreated from the challenge of establishing the exact size of the pupil population in their initial report and printed two sets of contradictory data, a 'Protestant' and a 'Catholic' total.[6]

In their second report, they revised these totals and published estimates based on the numbers actually returned by both the Catholic and the Protestant clergymen, augmented by the total of pupils in those schools which either might have missed.[7] But these amendments did not take account of the fact that substantially different pupil totals were frequently returned for some schools. To overcome this, both sets of pupil data are here treated as a single bank and the extraction of the higher pupil population results in an additional 50,785 pupils. On the other hand, an estimate based on the lower of any conflicting total and the omission of a school which was reported by one clergyman only, gives a 'minimum' return of 410,008. In 1834 another commission of enquiry was apparently more successful as a consequence of visiting each parish and convening a set of local informants to examine the data which had been collected beforehand. As a result of these oral hearings they established that there were a further 771 schools without satisfactory records with an estimated total enrollment of 50,533.[8]

In 1841 the national census commissioners revolutionised data collection by using standard forms, a clearly specified census period and a well briefed police constabulary as enumerators. Pupil census forms were issued to the authorities of each school and these recorded any attendance made by any pupil during the census week.[9] All of these innovations ensured that the data collected in 1841 was qualitatively of a different order from any which had been collected previously and it marked the start of a new era in the history of educational statistics. Nonetheless, the information which was collected then and in 1851,[10] when the same procedures were in operation, had significant limitations. What was collected and published referred to pupil behaviour during a single week only and there was no means of establishing the extent to which attendance then was typical nor the extent to which attendance might be a predictor of actual enrollment. Neither did the commissioners establish the extent to which omissions due to evasion or oversight might have occurred.

The third category of data is that generated by the census for the period from 1861 to 1911.[11] The enumeration period was now extended to a full year for which the school authorities were asked to record the number of days attended by each pupil. The significance of this measure is that it recorded every individual who attended however briefly, during the census year. Thus the problem arising from brief enumeration periods, which took no account of sporadic attenders, seasonal fluctuations and holidays was being addressed. In 1861 the school authorities believed that the total recorded for census week was in fact unrepresentative due to school holidays and the census commissioners held a second census when attendances returned to 'normal'. That count, carried out on 16th May 1861, was to be the only fixed single day enumeration carried out during the period under review. The final development in censal enumeration of pupils came in 1881 and from that year until the series ended in 1911, the total number of pupils who made at least one attendance during census fortnight was recorded. Each of these official measures of day-school pupils and the totals which they produced are tabulated in the appendix to this paper.

2. Sunday School Pupils

Sunday schooling lies in a hazy borderland between religion and education. In many instances it was concerned solely with oral instruction in religious belief and practice. It was usually located in a church, chapel or meeting house, generally under clerical supervision. In such circumstances it was perceived as a religious activity and if its extent was to be measured,it would be undertaken by the religious authorities. Alternatively, because it was believed that the ability to read might free a pupil from dependence on a teacher and facilitate direct access to scripture, it might include instruction in reading. That dimension prompted some authorities to view it as a quasi-secular activity whose measurement might be the concern of the state. That view was strengthened by the realisation that for many children, it would be their sole scholastic experience and the skills acquired at Sunday school their only mark of having been educated.[12]

From the end of the eighteenth century Sunday schooling was growing in extent but on the three occasions when its measurement was officially attempted, the ambiguity which surrounded it resulted in incomplete enumeration and any returns made, were not tabulated.[13] If the individual parochial returns from the most complete of these attempts, that of 1834, are examined they suggest that in the ten dioceses which were fully enumerated, the ratio of Sunday school pupils to day school pupils was one to five. It was generally accepted by contemporaries[14] that in the earlier part of the century, half of these attended no other schools: consequently, any estimate of total pupil numbers at that period should make allowance for a Sunday school population which might have been 10 per cent of the day school total.

3. Pupils at school outside of the country

Boys and to a much lesser extent girls from upper-class families had travelled to England or the continent for their schooling throughout the early modern period and by the early nineteenth century most of the sons of the great landowning and aristocratic families were receiving some or all of their schooling in England.[15] The trend was reinforced during the latter part of the century by the expansion of the British prep school and public school network, improved land and sea transport and the sluggish development of Irish upper-class schools.[16]

It is difficult to establish the size of this elite and it was only during the latter part of the century that contemporaries made any attempt to quantify it. A survey carried out in 1871 revealed that 250 Irish Catholic boys were attending English schools and a further 50 were at schools on the continent and in the following decade, another survey suggested that English schools were at that time educating between 1,500 and 2,000 Irish boys.[17] Girls were not included in either survey, though it is clear that as boarding schools for girls developed during the latter part of the century, English and continental schools for girls often recruited pupils in Ireland. The tendency for the elite to send children to schools abroad remained strong until Irish schools started to compete more successfully with their foreign counterparts [18] but whatever its significance in social and educational terms, the number of such pupils was insignificant in comparison with the overall pupil total.

4. Pupils being educated at home

A survey of the literary material, principally biographical works, indicates that during the course of the century many children of wealthy professional and propertied families received their initial education at home. Though aware of their existence, the authorities made no attempt to collect and publish data on home-educated pupils. The bulk of home based tuition was the responsibility of a tutor or a governess and the occupational data in the census suggests that at mid-century there were between 1,500 and 2,000 families in the country employing a private teacher. The most generous of pupil-teacher ratios, say five pupils per teacher, would have a total of 10,000 children being educated by domestic tutors. At a time when the total pupil population in Irish schools was creeping towards one million, those being educated in their own home, like those going abroad, would have been an insignificant addition to the overall total.[19]

* * * * * * *

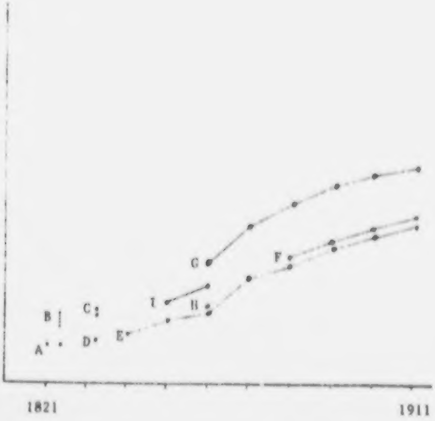
This review of the data for pupil population leads to the conclusion that from 1841 onwards, changes in enumeration procedures produced data which would be significantly better in quality than that which had been obtained prior to that. Contemporaries had attempted to correct the data collected in 1834 and it has now also proved possible to propose a revision of the 1824 data. Nonetheless, caution must guide any attempt to use the earlier data, particularly the incomplete 1821 returns.

Estimates of the pupil population have heretofore depended almost entirely on the data produced by censal and other official enquiries but account should be taken of pupils at Sunday schools, pupils who went abroad and those who were school at home. Of these, pupils who were educated within their own homes or abroad seem to have been an insignificant number but Sunday schools may have met a significant portion of the demand for elementary schooling, particularly in the earlier part of the century.

The Trend

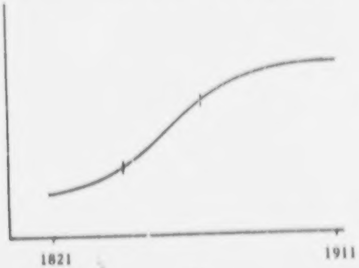
The overall trend which emerges is one of steady upward movement. This took place against a background of significant demographic change. During the earlier part of the period, the national population itself continued an expansion which had commenced in the previous century and it was in decline from the 1840's onward. On the other hand, the proportion of young people in the population showed a clear tendency to decrease throughout the course of the century. A control of these fluctuations can be accomplished by expressing each obtained pupil population as a percentage of the contemporary population aged under twenty.[20] When plotted on a graph, that data will give a visual representation of the long-term trend.

PUPILS AS PERCENTAGE OF THE POPULATION AGED UNDER 20 YEARS



During the early part of the century, there was little growth in the pupil population. This is observable when points derived from similar measurements are compared as in the case of the numbers enrolled in 1824 (B) and in 1834 (C). The other measures from that period are of attendance, though each was collected in different circumstances: that of 1821 (A), is a measure of attendance on a single day, that of 1834 (D) is of average daily attendance and that of 1841 (E), is of the total attendance during a single week. Of the three, A and D measuring single day attendance afford comparison but had a single day measure been taken in 1841, it would almost certainly have resulted in an attendance significantly lower than that recorded in census week (E) and very close to the attendance recorded in 1821 and in 1834. Since these levels do not make allowance for Sunday school pupils and are probably underestimates, they have the effect of accentuating subsequent growth rates. A link between the earlier and later parts of the century exists in data of type E which is available for each point from 1841 to 1911. The trend which it suggests, is paralleled by a measure of a single day (H), attendance during a fortnight (F), attendance during a year (G) and enrollment (I). The enumeration of every pupil who attended school during census year (G) is the most comprehensive of these measures and it indicates that the accelerated growth of mid-century was slowing down from the 1870s onwards and had almost ceased by 1911.

The overall trend which emerges is one of 'saturated' growth which has a stylised S shape.[21]



With the commencement of the series in 1821, a low level of growth is observed (X), and remained so, probably to the late 1830s. Exponential growth took place during the next three decades (Y), being at its greatest in the 1870s. Thereafter growth slowed (Z). As the series comes to an end in 1911 an equilibrium caused by the attainment of the 'natural' upper limit of the population, had been reached.

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2. An outline of the history of the census is in William E. Vaughan and Andre J. Fitzpatrick. *Irish Historical Statistics: population, 1821-1971*. (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 1978.)

3. The sole break in the census series occurred in 1831. On that occasion information on schools and pupils was either not collected or not published.

4. *Abstract of answers and returns, persuant to Act 55. Geo. 3. for taking an account of the population of Ireland in 1821*, H.C. 1824 (577), xxii, 411.

5. An account of the enumeration and a critique of its results is in Joseph Lee, 'On the accuracy of the Pre-Famine Irish Censuses' in J.M. Goldstrom and L.A. Clarkson, eds., *Irish Population, Economy and Society: Essays in Honour of the late K.H. Connell*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984).

6. *First Report of the Commissioners of Irish Education Inquiry*, H.C. 1825 (400), xii.

7. *Second Report of the Commissioners of the Irish Education Inquiry*, H.C. 1826-7 (12), xii.

8. *Second Report of the Commissioners of Public Instruction Ireland*, (47), H.C. 1835, xxxiv.

9. *Report of the Commissioners appointed to take the census of Ireland for the years 1841*, (504), H.C. 1843, xxiv, I.

10. *The Census of Ireland for the year 1851*, pt iv: *Report on ages and education* [2053], H.C. 1856, xxix, I.

11. *The Census of Ireland for the Year 1861*, pt.v: general report, [3204iv], H.C. 1863, ixi, I; *Census of Ireland*, 1871, pt.iii, *General Report*, [C 1377], H.C. 1876, ixxxi, I; *Census of Ireland*, 1881 pt ii: *General Report*, [c 3365], H.C. 1882 1xxvi,385; *Census of Ireland*, 1891 pt ii, *General Report*, [c 6780], H.C. 1892, xc,I; *Census of Ireland*, 1901 pt ii, *General Report* [Cd. 1190], H.C. 1902, cxxix, I;

Census of Ireland, 1911 pt ii: General Report [Cd. 6663], H.C. 191213, cxviii, I.

12. An introduction to various issues arising from the study of Sunday schooling is Thomas Laqueur, Religion and Respectability. (New Haven and London: Yale, 1976).

13. In 1821, the director of the national census William Shaw Mason intended that Sunday schools would be included in the enumeration though he did not specify that to the individual enumerators. If Sunday school pupils were included in the overall pupil totals, it is nowhere alluded to. Many clerical respondents furnished details of Sunday schools to the commissioners for the 1824 enquiry. For examples see Martin Brennan, Schools of Kildare and Leighlin A.D. 1775-1835. (Dublin: Browne and Nolan, 1835) and David Kennedy, "Robert Park's account of schools in Ballymoney parish". Irish Historical Studies, vi., No. 21, (1948). None of these schools were listed in the published report. Following the completion of their enquiry in 1835 the commissioners of public instruction stated that Sunday schooling came within the scope of their enquiry but that not all of the enumerators had collected the relevant data. See Second Report introduction.

14. See for example the annual reports of the Sunday School Society for Ireland.

15. A survey published in 1883 of resident proprietors of 3,000 acres and upwards or with incomes in excess of £3,000 per annum contains details of the education of 160 individuals. Of these, all but five had attended one of the English public schools. Their average age was 50 years with a standard deviation of 16 years. Most therefore would have been born between 1815 and 1835. See John Bateman, The Great Landowners of Great Britain and Ireland. (London: Harrison, 1883).

16. Kieran Flanagan,'The rise and fall of the Celtic ineligible: competitive examinations for the Irish Civil Services in relation to the educational and occupational structure of Ireland, 1853-1921. (Sussex University: D. Phil, 1978); Anne V. O'Connor 'The revolution in girls secondary education in Ireland 1860 - 1910' in Mary Cullen (editor), Girls Don't Do Honours: Irish Women in Education in the 19th and 20th Centuries. (Dublin: Women's Education Bureau, 1987). See also, Donald Leinster Mackay, The Rise of the English Prep School. (Lewes: Palmer, 1984) and Thomas W. Bamford, The Rise of the Public Schools. (London: Nelson, 1967).

17. Maurice C. Hime, Home Education of Irish Schools for Irish Boys. (London: Simpkin Marshall, 1887) and Efficiency of Irish Schools and Their Superiority to English Schools as Places of Education for Irish Boys, Proved and Explained. (London: Simpkin Marshall, 1889).

18. Flanagan, 'The rise and fall of the Celtic ineligible'.

19. See John Logan, 'Governesses, Tutors and Parents: Domestic Education in Ireland, 1700- 1800' in Irish Educational Studies, Vol. 7 No. 2 (1988).

20. Census enumeration of the population aged under 20 is not available for 1824 or 1834 for which years estimates were made by linear interpolation. The following formula was used. Let the known population in year zero be A and the known population in year ten be B. Then:
the estimated population in Year 1 = .9A + .1B
the estimated population in Year 2 = .8A + .2B
....
the estimated population in Year 9 = .1A + .9B
See Charles M. Dollar and Richard J. Jensen, Historians Guide to Statistics: Quantitative Analysis and Historical Research. (New York: Kreiger, 1974).

21. For a technical discussion of S-shaped curves see Frederick E. Croxen, Dudley J. Cowden and Sidney Klien, Applied General Statistics. (Englewood Cliffs: 1907).

APPENDIX

TYPE OCCASION	MEASURE	TOTAL	AS % OF POPULATIO UNDER 20
A Census, 1821	Pupils in school when enumerator called	394,810	10.3
B Inquiry, 1824	Enrollment average over unspecified three months		
	1) Revision 'low'	410,749	10.5
	2) Protestant clergy	498,641	12.7
	3) Catholic clergy	522,016	13.3
	4) Protestant + (Catholic)	560,549	14.3
	5) Catholic + (Protestant)	568,964	14.5
	6) Revision 'high'	619,749	15.8
C Inquiry, 1834	Enrollment during unspecified period	583,413	14.6
	Estimated total enrollment	633,946	15.9
D Inquiry, 1834	Average daily attendance over a year	450,101	11.3
E Census, 1841-1911	Making at least one attendance during week ending		
	- 5th June 1841	502,950	12.2
	- 12th April 1851	500,730	15.8
	- 13th April 1861	435,335	16.9
	- 17th June 1871	637,010	26.0
	- 14th May 1881	695,441	29.3
	- 30th May 1891	709,345	34.1
	- 11th May 1901	672,082	36.8
	- 13th May 1911	701,993	40.7
F Census, 1881-1911	Making at least one attendance during fortnight ending		
	- 17th May 1881	747,186	31.5
	- 30th May 1891	767,737	36.9
	- 11th May 1901	725,655	39.7
	- 13th May 1911	737,522	42.8
G Census, 1861-1911	Making at least one attendance during year ending 31st March - 1861	804,974	31.3
	- 1871	994,810	40.6
	- 1881	1,100,108	46.4
	- 1891	1,053,160	50.5
	- 1901	970,924	53.2
	- 1911	934,823	54.2
H Census 1861	Pupils in school on 17th May	465,107	18.1
I Census 1851-1961	Pupils returned on household forms		
	- 12th April 1851	687,560	21.7
	- 13th April 1861	645,695	25.1

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THE GLASNEVIN EXPERIMENT 1847 - 1877: A CASE-STUDY OF OFFICIAL AND RELIGIOUS INVOLVEMENT IN AN INDUSTRIAL MODEL SCHOOL

Sean Griffin

Glasnevin, a suburb of Dublin, is situated about two miles north of the city centre on sloping uplands near the banks of the river Tolka. It is a district that has a long and proud memory of educational foundations including the monastic university of St. Mobhi in the sixth century, the parish school founded by Swift and Delaney in 1733 (which still flourishes) and the Albert Agricultural College established by the Commissioners of National Education. Not the least of these proud memories concerns the building still known locally as "the model school" which today is the equally proud home of the North Dublin National School Project - a multi-denominational initiative. The original school dates from 1847. Thom's Directory for the following year clearly lists it as "the model school"[1] and there is no doubt that from the beginning it was vested wholly in the Commissioners.

An ambitious plan outlined in 1835, four years after the institution of the National Board, contained a proposal for covering the country with a network of 32 model schools. These schools would be established and controlled by the Commissioners, have superior buildings and equipment and would be under the direction of teachers of superior attainment appointed by the National Board. Their purpose was to provide early training for "candidate teachers", set the highest standards of educational excellence and provide an example in the promotion of "united" or mixed denominational education.

This plan, mainly for financial reasons, lay dormant for ten years. It was not until 1849 and the founding of the district model schools at Newry, Ballymena, Clonmel and Dunmanway that this system got under way.

The designation of the school at Glasnevin as a model school in this scheme appears something of a puzzle. Full lists of all the model schools and comprehensive individual reports were provided in the annual reports of the Commissioners from the 1850s onwards. However, the Glasnevin school does not appear in these lists nor does it merit an individual report even though it predates all the model schools listed except the Central Model Schools in Marlborough Street. The school is given special mention in the Commissioners' annual statement of accounts. Here it is sometimes called "the Glasnevin Model Industrial School"[2] and sometimes "the Glasnevin Village Model School."[3] Some of the earliest school records are headed "Glasnevin Industrial National School" and do not seem to refer to any model status. An independent publication dated 1859 makes reference to the "Village Model School, Glasnevin."[4]

Part of the explanation for the apparently ambiguous status and confused terminology may possibly be linked to (i) the school's special location viz-a-viz other institutions of the National Board and (ii) the Commissioners' early concern for agricultural education.

In 1833, the Commissioners, concerned that teachers in training should have some experience in the principles of agricultural education, created a Model Farm on over 50 acres (later expanded to 140 acres) at Hampstead, Glasnevin. A small Model Garden was also established near the parish church on land sloping into the village.

Here a small number of pupils were educated in horticultural techniques.[5] In 1838, the National Agricultural Institution was opened as a focal point of the Model Farm. In the village of Glasnevin adjoining the Model Garden, which supported a small caretaker's residence, the Commissioners also built their Training Establishment - a residence and study facility for the male teachers in training. Female students were lodged in Talbot Street close to the Central Model Schools while their male counterparts walked the two miles (under supervision) into the city. On Saturdays, the Glasnevin students were directed to work and study at the agricultural facilities.

The Commissioners extended their concern that all rural schools should provide agricultural education to the creation of a category called Agricultural Schools. These were national schools under normal local management with small farms attached to them. In 1875 there were 228 farms of various sorts attached to national schools.[6]

Another category was the "industrial school". In these schools embroidery and needlework were taught in the female departments.[7] The concern for practical work of this nature was expressed in the foreword of a contemporary textbook as a utilitarian objective:

> The majority (of pupils will) become needlewomen, apprentices or domestic servants - and the habits of active industry and some knowledge of household work are still expected of every girl on entering service.[8]

The Glasnevin school, despite its attachment to the Model Garden, could not be classed as an agricultural school because of its proximity to the Model Agricultural School at the National Agricultural Institution (later Albert Institution). Industrial education was therefore seen in the wider context of horticultural instruction for boys as well as needlework for girls. Although in the planning stage it is referred to as "the National Agricultural Schoolhouse at Glasnevin"[9] it is later called "the proposed experiment of industrial instruction at Glasnevin National School".[10] Its establishment prior to that of any of the district model schools together with its association with the adjoining Training Institution probably contributed to its initially ambivalent status as "model school".

As early as 1843 the Commissioners had been considering an experimental national school in Glasnevin under their own control. A grant towards a national school under local management had been sanctioned in that year with the expressed proviso that this would be withdrawn when the Commissioners established their own school there.[11] In August 1845 two of the Commissioners, Mr. Corballis and Mr. MacDonnell visited Glasnevin and recommended to the Board that "the garden attached to the cottage occupied by the gardener Mr. Campbell be selected as the most eligible site."[12] The cottage was to be converted into the new school house.

In December 1846 the new appointees were sanctioned. The first Master was Walter Hawe and the first Mistress of the female department was Mary Whittaker. Both were Roman Catholics. Walter Hawe's conditions of employment stated that

> in addition to his duties as a literary teacher he must assist in instruction of a limited number of more advanced pupils in garden culture. He must work in the garden - the whole of the garden operation to be under the general superintendence of Mr. Campbell. 13

It was also specified that Mary Whittaker must teach needlework in addition to her ordinary duties.

49

The aims of the school declared that it should be

> an example of the manner in which a school ought to be conducted in country districts in such a manner as to combine literacy and agricultural teaching. 14

The school is described as "placed in the garden connected with the training house" and the master "a young man educated for the purpose under ourselves." A new post of agricultural inspector was created in 1848 and the holder, Dr. Kirkpatrick, had a special interest in the Glasnevin school experiment. He was responsible for the first two paid monitors who were appointed in May 1852. In that same year he wrote this glowing, if somewhat patronising report on the school and its master

> The general management of this establishment ... reflects the highest credit on the ability and industry of Mr Hawe... Five years ago when he commenced to take part with his pupils in the practical operation of the garden under the directions of Mr. Campbell he was totally unacquainted with the simplist principles of the business... and this has been accomplished without in any way interfering with his efficiency as a Literary Teacher as can be certified by the District Inspector. 15

Despite these worthy accolades not everything found favour with the Commissioners. A notation in their records for 1854 read

> Mr. W. Hawe to be severely reprimanded for his gross negligence in passing accounts, the vouchers for which have been so palpably altered. For the future he must be extremely careful. 16

In fairness to the master, a hugh burden of bureaucratic paperwork was required of him and these administrative duties along with his obligations in the school garden would surely have tried the most meticulous of men.

Concern over the industrial department in the female school was also voiced

> The materials supplied for embroidery are of the very coarsest and worst kind and in my opinion very unfit for any stage and particularly so for beginners. [17]

As the school was a showpiece of a kind, the Commissioners were very sensitive about its appearance and upkeep. This comment by Inspector Michael Coyle in 1856 conveys the import he placed on a delicate matter

> The windows are all dirty and the floor has not been washed sufficiently. The privies are in a very bad state. I will recommend that a lock be got for them and if after that I find them in so bad a state I shall feel it my duty to report the matter to the Commissioners... In a schoolhouse circumstanced as this, extreme neatness should be wished for. [18]

A matter concerning the privies had in fact been raised at the highest level a couple of years earlier. An incident of "improper writing on the doors of the privy of this school"[19] was traced to teachers in training from the adjoining Establishment.

Mr. Hawe's problems were not confined to the disapprobations of zealous inspectors. A major religious controversy was to darken the end of the first decade of the school. All schools in theory, but most particularly so in schools under the direct control of the Commissioners, were obliged to display and teach "The General Lesson". This was a printed chart which contained exhortations to tolerance, forgiveness, generosity of spirit and peaceful co-existence with all men in the context of certain scriptural quotations. The reading of the General Lesson was meant to be a daily timetabled event. The local Roman Catholic curate, Fr. William Purcell, fueled by the denunciations of "mixed education" in the pronouncements of Archbishop Paul Cullen, waged a relentless crusade against this practice. Visiting the school, Fr. Purcell wrote in the observation book

> The 'General Lesson' should not be read by Catholic children... Omitting other evils it recommends 'private judgment' covertly, a thing by no means Catholic... There is a secret poison in this 'General Lesson' calculated to destroy the innocent mind. [20]

A stormy correspondence was carried on between the Commissioners and Fr. Purcell, the Commissioners asserting their rule firmly. The unfortunate Mr. Hawe was caught in the middle. In theory the Commissioners won the round; in practice the priest impressed on the master his religious obligations as a Roman Catholic. The Commissioners noted that "the reading of (the General Lesson) having been practically given up... Mr. Hawe is to be informed that he has no authority to make changes without the permission of the Board."[21] It was a no-win situation for Walter Hawe and he suffered the consequences. On December 4, 1855, Walter Hawe formerly lauded and accoladed for his pioneering efforts was summarily dismissed.

Miss Whittaker, obviously seeing storm clouds rising, decided to resign her position in August 1855. She was replaced by Sarah Cummerson late of the controversial Newry Model School. The new master was appointed on January 4, 1856. He was James Rogers, a Roman Catholic, who had formerly taught in Clontarf national school. Glasnevin was then part of the Roman Catholic parish of Clontarf so Mr. Rogers must have been aware of the tensions and conflict existing in the school.

James Rogers's approach was to attempt to make peace with the Catholic clergy by allowing the Roman Catholic children to leave the school when the General Lesson was about to be read - presumably at the end of the day. This may have been his interpretation of a rather equivocal statement by the Commissioners in March, 1856 which declared that:

> pupils who are present at the reading of the General Lesson should be clear that they are not required to attend at this time. 22

Unfortunately this interpretation did not find accordance with Head Inspector Mr. James Kavanagh. As far as he was concerned it was a nail in James Rogers's coffin. The inspector declared himself completely dissatisfied with the literary progress of the school, gave notice of his intention to hold a general inspection within the next three months and promised further unpleasantness if improvements were not forthcoming. Like Walter Hawe before him, Rogers was learning how precarious and unprotected a teacher's position was.

James Rogers spent the entire year of 1857 working under shadow of dismissal. This must have been particularly humiliating as he was a teacher graded as second of the First Class. Before his summer vacation he was informed that he was to be extended a further trial of three months "and to be then prepared for removal unless the Head Inspector favourably reports that a permanent improvement in the school and the establishment generally has taken place."[23] In fact Mr. Kavanagh had already recommended to the Commissioners that Rogers be dismissed but this was as much to do with the career and subsequent fate of Head Inspector James Kavanagh than anything else.

Kavanagh, a brilliant but maverick individual, was something of a thorn in the side of the Commissioners. He had been appointed a national teacher in 1832 at the age of fifteen. By 1841 he was head of the male department of the General Model Schools; his brilliance led to his promotion to Inspector in 1844 and Head Inspector two years later. His independent and arrogant freelancing was equally noteworthy. He had among other things embarrassed the Commissioners by publishing an arithmetic book in his own name. At around the time he filed his report on the Glasnevin school he had given an unsanctioned paper to the British Association which was highly critical of the National Board. This was the last straw and Kavanagh was demoted and his salary halved. The proposed dismissal of James Rogers was not acted upon and in February 1858 Kavanagh resigned from the inspectorate.

The Commissioners in fact gave James Rogers a Christmas present of a £10 increase in his salary "in consideration of favourable reports of the Agricultural and Literary Inspectors"[24] but 18 months later his health having broken down, a substitute had to be appointed. At the end of 1861 the Commissioners noted that

> In consequence of Mr. James Rogers's term of service and his present helpless condition, four months salary be allowed him, this to be repaid by him in instalments should he recover and again enter the Board's service.[25]

In fact James Rogers never resumed his post and on January 1, 1862, Stephen E. McCarthy took up his place as the third master of the Glasnevin Village Model School.

The horticultural department in the school meanwhile was flourishing. In 1857, John Donaghy, a sub-agricultural inspector (who was later to play an even closer role in the life of the school) compliments the "Glasnevin Model School gardens." It was described thus:

> 46 perches of the garden are divided into sub-allotments which are given to the most deserving pupils who are allowed the profits after paying rent, costs of seeds, manure etc. 26

In all the garden consisted of 1 acre 2 roods and 19 perches. It provided work for 38 pupils from the agricultural class (not connected directly with the school) and 16 pupils from the industrial class in the school. The garden also accommodated four pigs.

In 1867 the Glasnevin gardens were described as "the most extensive and best organised institution of this kind." The horticultural department of the school is described as having two sections: the School Garden and the Allotment Garden.

> The School Garden is worked partly by hired labour and partly by the labour of the pupils who receive a slight weekly remuneration for their services. The balance sheet for the past year shows a gain of £23. 11. 1½ the highest recorded for many years past and... when proper precautions shall have been taken to preserve the fruit from being exposed to depredation by putting boundary walls and railings in a fit state to keep out intruders, this gain will be very considerably increased. 27

By 1870 there were only six school gardens listed by the Commissioners. Apart from Glasnevin, which was by far the largest, there were gardens at Armagh, Convoy Co. Donegal, Ballaghadereen, Ballyglass Co. Mayo and Frenchpark Co. Roscommon.[28]

Some time before 1860 Miss Cummerson of the female department, changed her name to Mrs. McCarthy. It is not clear from the records whether she was married to Stephen E. McCarthy who became principal teacher in 1862 though it is a tempting speculation. What is noticeable however, is the similarity in the uncomplimentary inspectors' reports on both the male and female departments during this period. In 1863 Mr. McCarthy was urged "to exert himself to bring up his pupils to requirements of the school programme particularly in geography and arithmetic" and Sarah McCarthy was told to "endeavour to bring up her pupils to requirements of set programme in grammar and geography."[29] Stephen E.McCarthy was also reprimanded for taking three weeks vacation at Christmas.[30] The Commissioners allowed only one week at Christmas, one week at Easter and three weeks summer holidays. On July 1, 1864, Stephen E. McCarthy resigned his position "having obtained a more lucrative appointment."[31]

The Commissioners, no doubt concerned that the high standards of the horticultural department would be maintained, appointed John Donaghy, a former sub-agricultural inspector, as principal teacher. Another reason for Mr. McCarthy's departure and Mr. Donaghy's appointment may have been the current hard line attitude of the Roman Catholic bishops to the model schools. Still violently opposed to mixed education, the hierarchy in 1863 ordered that no teacher trained in a model school was to be employed by any Catholic managed national school. Roman Catholics were also barred from the Commissioners' Training Establishment with the result that there was a shortage of suitable personnel all round. The Commissioners drew on one of their inspectors to fill the place. Mr. Donaghy was also a Protestant. The assistant teacher in the male school, Mr. J. Gallagher, had in the meantime been transferred to the Central Model Schools and was replaced by John Ryan who was a professor in the Training Establishment. The teaching duties, in terms of numbers, cannot have been too arduous. There were 53 boys on the roll at the end of 1867 (compared with 88 pupils in the female department)[32] and the average daily attendance was 28. Of the boys, a number who composed the "industrial class" would have had special duties in the school garden.

The female school had a consistently higher attendance and included a division of infant boys. Mrs. McCarthy, who remained at her post, endeavoured to keep up her own industrial department as an inspection report of 1869 notes that "15 are taught sewing, 6 knitting, 2 embroidery, 2 cutting-out and 9 crochet work."[33] She continued to inspire critical remarks from inspectors however, and the Commissioners adopted a policy of fining her. She was docked £2 in 1865 for neglecting her monitors and £2 in 1867 for late attendance on the day of an inspection. A report by Inspector E. Sheehy complains:

> There was no pupil-teacher nor monitor present when I arrived at the school. The monitors came at 9.40 and 10 o'clock and the Head Teacher at 10.23. 34

She was also admonished for working on the roll books during school hours and for consulting her colleagues in the male school. Inspector Sheehy reported:

> The door between the schools should be kept locked to prevent the interruption occasioned by the teachers going from one school to another. Today I noticed that the Head Mistress went several times into the boys' school. 35

Mrs.McCarthy also seems to have had a volatile and unpleasant working relationship with her assistant, Miss Bessie Jennett, who had been appointed by the Commissioners to look after the religious instruction of the Protestant children both boys and girls.[36] Both parties made intemperate written complaints and counter complaints to the Board which resulted in the dismissal of Miss Jennett and the near dismissal of Mrs. McCarthy towards the end of 1870.

The Powis Commission also produced its report in 1870. Its far-reaching proposals included the gradual abolition of the district model schools, a capitulation to denominational education, the payment by results scheme and compulsory attendance. The report sheet for the first results examination in the Glasnevin school female department lists only 33 pupils who had made 90 or more attendances during the year.[37] Only 12 of these were examined for geography and needlework. The female department continued to maintain a significantly higher enrollment than the male department so much so that the Head Inspector Mr. Fitzgerald ordered that the larger schoolroom occupied by the boys should be given to the girls. In 1871 there were 66 boys on the roll and 133 in the female school. The average daily attendance was 20 and 45 respectively.[38]

One of the results of the Powis Report that was to have the most significant effect on Glasnevin was the very sceptical evaluation it rendered on agricultural education in the national schools. Laudable though the Commissioners' original plans were, they were costly from the Treasury point of view and demanded a separate inspectorate. This policy change happened to coincide with a decline in the high standards of the Glasnevin school garden and industrial departments. Fewer pupils seemed interested in working the plots and hired labour had to be engaged to maintain its upkeep. In 1873, Inspector Mr. Gillic reported:

> The Glasnevin school garden has not worked with its usual amount of efficiency and success during the past year owing in a great measure to the circumstances of the principal teacher being obliged to absent himself for several months due to serious illness. 39

The boys' school had also declined dramatically in its standards however, and the report of Head Inspector Fitzgerald was scathing in its criticism. Discipline seems to have been a general problem and is referred to a number of times since Mr. Donaghy became principal. The decline in perceived status that John Donaghy may have suffered descending from his former position of sub-agricultural inspector at the Albert Institution and the lack of support for agricultural projects shown by the Powis Commission, together with his illness, may all have contributed to his lack of enthusiasm. The Commissioners were merciless however, and ordered the dismissal of Donaghy from 1 February 1873 because of "failure and inefficiency in the discharge of (his) duties." Furthermore it was ordered that there was

> no application to be made for increase of pension for Mr. Donaghy on account of services since 1864 having been removed for the above reasons... (and) that from the above date the school be carried on by one teacher and one pupil-teacher and that the garden department be transferred to the charge of the authorities of the Albert Institution. 40

Like Walter Hawe before him, no account was taken of the distinctions of previous service. From 1876 the school is less frequently referred to as the "Glasnevin Industrial Model School".

The new principal teacher appointed to the school was a Mr. James Todd, possibly the same person referred to in the registers of the National Board some 17 years earlier responsible for the apparatus and requisitions department in Marlborough Street.[41] Further changes as a result of Treasury cut-backs affected the Training Establishment adjacent to the school. For some time too the Commissioners had been less than happy with developments there. In 1871, Mr. Donaghy had complained that school furniture had been broken as a result of rowdyism on the part of the student teachers.[42] The finger of blame in this case was pointed at the Assistant Superintendent at the Training Establishment, Mr. Hanna, who was dismissed in 1874 due to frequent absences from duty. One of Mr. Hanna's duties was to accompany the student teachers into the city each morning. Complaints of drunkenness and quarreling on St. Patrick's Day 1875 were made to the Commissioners and there was a suggestion that one of the professors there, Mr. O'Sullivan was failing in his responsibilities.[43] A committee set up to examine the situation recommended the abolition of the Training Establishment in Glasnevin and its transfer to houses in North Great George's Street in the city. The treasury readily concurred and further ordered the sale of the gardens and all buildings except the schoolhouse. The Commissioners tried to save the gardens but in October 1876 the sale was put into the hands of the Board of Works. An era of education at Glasnevin had ended and another was beginning.

From 1877 the accounts section of the Commissioners' reports lists the school as the "Glasnevin Village Model School" and from 1879 with respect to the receipt of results fees and salaries it is listed with the Metropolitan Model Schools: Central, West Dublin, Glasnevin and Inchicore. By 1880 it is referred to in the Commissioners' lists simply as the "Glasnevin Model" school.

While "the experiment of industrial instruction" at Glasnevin may not have had lasting success, the school did in fact strengthen its position at a time when district model schools were closing down or losing their status as a result of the Powis Report recommendations. It retained the status of model school up to the foundation of the State and beyond. Most interesting of all is the recent rejuvenation of the old model school as the North Dublin National School Project. Since its opening in 1984 the school's aim has been

> to foster a multi-denominational environment in which children of all religions or none may learn a genuine respect and understanding for the beliefs of others without feeling intimidated in their own. 44

Perhaps some of the original spirit of the Commissioners' idealistic plan may be materialising finally within the walls of Mr. Campbell's garden cottage and the spirit of Walter Hawe may well draw some comfort from it.

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CATHOLIC-NATIONALIST ATTITUDES TO EDUCATION IN NORTHERN IRELAND, 1921-1947

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Introduction

This paper discusses attitudes which can be described as the official, or at least the dominant attitudes towards education of the Catholic Nationalist community in Northern Ireland over the period from 1921 to 1947. The attitudes discussed are those which derived from the basic beliefs and values, religious and national in particular, of that community. These attitudes, influenced and shaped as they were not only by traditional Catholic teaching and by the community's general cultural traditions, but also by relationships with the Protestant-Unionist community of Northern Ireland, offer valuable insights into the mind of the the Northern Nationalist over this period.

The principal issues underlying the attitudes under discussion were essentially two-fold. Firstly, there were the issues connected with the financing, control and management of schools. As they presented themselves, these issues obliged the Catholic Church to oppose any form of state, or public involvement in control and management as the price for increased financial support for its schools. While this stand was characteristic in many respects of the general attitude of the Catholic Church elsewhere, relationships with the Protestant-Unionist community are crucial to understanding the precise nature of this opposition in Northern Ireland.

Secondly, there were educational issues which derived from the national identity of the Catholic-

Nationalist community. In practical terms, these issues related mainly to the recognition afforded Ireland's Gaelic-Irish heritage in the school curriculum. In other words, what role and status would the Irish language, the history of Ireland and Gaelic-Irish culture generally have in school curricula in Northern Ireland.

Of these two sets of issues, the first received more attention by far and caused greater concern within the Catholic-Nationalist community than did the second. The first touched on the general provision of education for a whole community and this alone ensured its significance. There was, also, the Church's spiritual and moral authority within that community to add weight to its case. Furthermore, there was the close association between religion and politics which made allies of Catholicism and Nationalism and which added the voice of nationalist politicians to those of the Catholic Church itself on matters such as education.

How the Gaelic-Irish heritage should be accommodated within school curricula, while a contentious issue, lacked the immediacy, coherence and public impact of the Church's stand on the financing, control and management of schools. No powerful lobby like the Catholic Church worked on its behalf. Nationalist politicians and organisations like the Gaelic League voiced some concern, but no detailed plans for developing the curriculum to take account of this heritage were ever put before the government during this period.

As far as the government was concerned Irish was seen as an irritant with dangerous political overtones, rather than as a substantial educational issue.[1] The teaching of Irish was, as the Permanent Secretary to the Ministry, Bonaparte Wyse, indicated in 1928, approached by it in a manner intended to place as many constraints as possible on its development in the hope that it would gradually decline in popularity.[2] It is, therefore, the cultural and, in particular, the political significance of Gaelic-Irish issues rather than their immediate educational significance which is of interest in this period.

Discussion in the paper is divided chronologically to indicate two phases in the development of the attitudes in question. Phase one covered the years 1921-30 when the Catholic-Nationalist community from a very negative and almost completely non-cooperative attitude towards the very existence of Northern Ireland, its government and is administrators, slowly began coming to terms with the new reality in which it found itself. Indeed, it can be claimed that concern over education, perhaps more than any other single factor, played a critical role in that 'coming to terms' process. This phase ended with the Education Act of 1930.

The second phase covered the years 1939 to 1947 during which discontent continued to smoulder, despite some gains in the 1930 Education Act, and ended with attempts which fell just short of complete satisfaction for both the Church and the Government in the educational legislation enacted in 1947.[3]

1921-30 From Rejection to Reluctant Acceptance

Not surprisingly the shock of partition produced an understandable negative reaction within the Catholic-Nationalist community, a reaction very evident within the Catholic school system. The most dramatic evidence was the refusal, lasting nearly six months, of almost three hundred schools to establish formal links with the education authorities in Northern Ireland.[4]

Commentators such as Akenson[5] have suggested that the most significant educational demonstration of this negative stance was the absence of a Catholic-Nationalist voice in the formulation of recommendations by the Lynn Committee (1921-23) for the restructuring of the educational system.[6] It is to be doubted, however, whether, the presence of such a voice would have had any significant effect on the general nature of those recommendations. It is quite clear that the Lynn Committee was going to be influenced by the ideas that had led to the Unionist sponsored Belfast Education Bill of 1919,[7] a Bill that was only withdrawn when the British government introduced the McPherson Bill[8] in the same year with similar provisions for the whole of Ireland.

Both the Belfast Bill and the McPherson Bill proposed rate support for education as a means of providing additional finances for schools, together with the creation of local education authorities broadly along lines already operating in England and Wales since 1902.[9] To the Catholic Church these proposals amounted to an unacceptable form of interference in its absolute control over schools attended by Catholics. The Church had not taken any active role in the discussions preceding the Unionist sponsored Bill and when the McPherson Bill was published it at once mounted a strong public campaign opposing it. In this campaign the Church enjoyed the support of the few remaining Irish Nationalist M.P.s at Westminster, all from Northern Ireland.[10]

It would have been unlikely, therefore, that any Catholic-Nationalist participation in the Lynn Committee would have led to an agreed report as Akenson implies.[11] It is more likely that it would have led to a minority report endorsing the existing managerial system with a plea to have the degree of financial support formerly available from the Board of Commissioners of National Education for approved schools retained.

Of more immediate concern to the Catholic Church in the early years of Northern Ireland's existence was the provision of teacher training facilities for Catholic male students. From 1922, following the introduction of curriculum reforms which enhanced the status of Irish and Gaelic culture generally, Catholic training colleges in the Free State had refused to provide courses acceptable to the Northern Ministry which in turn refused to sanction the enrolment of Northern students in such colleges.[12] With only St. Mary's College for Catholic female students and the new non-denominational, but in practice mainly Protestant, Stranmillis College in Northern Ireland, the need for facilities for Catholic male students was critical. Coeducational facilities at St. Mary's were never, it seems, even considered and Stranmillis was totally unacceptable to a Church that had always insisted on the training of teachers for Catholic schools being conducted in Catholic colleges.

It was on this matter that the the Catholic authorities reached their first substantial agreement with the Northern Ministry of Education. Arrangements were made to obtain places for Catholic male students in St. Mary's College, Strawberry Hill, London and these took effect from 1924.[13]

As for the ordinary Catholic elementary schools the 1923 Act severely constrained their prospects of receiving public funding. While the Act recognised a category of 'voluntary' schools, it allowed for no public funds for such schools, apart from teachers' salaries, unless their trustees established a management committee on which the local education authority would be represented. Such committees were referred to as 'four-and-two' committees, that being their ratio of trustee to public representatives.

The very notion of a management committee seems to have been anathema to the Catholic Church at this time. To suggest such a committee was to indicate a lack of confidence in the 'managerial' system. This system had, of course, given the Church control over the majority of schools attended by Catholics over the appointment of their teachers and over aspects of the curricula.

The introduction into school management of local authority representatives alongside those appointed by the Church, had been opposed as strongly in the rest of Ireland, where most public representatives were Catholic, as it was in Northern Ireland. Opposition was based on the attitude that the clerical manager, representing the Church, thereby ensured that Catholic parental interests would be safeguarded. On this basis there was no need for the involvement of public representatives. Furthermore, such representation was always attacked by the Church as the first step to complete state control of education.

In Northern Ireland there was a third factor, the fear that public representation could be Protestant and Unionist and as such an immediate threat to the Catholic school system. The fact that Unionist dominated local councils were reputed to discriminate against Catholics and that in 1922 the Northern Ireland Government had replaced the proportional voting system in local elections with the 'straight vote' system in order to maximise Unionist control over local councils,[14] meant that the Church's opposition to local involvement in school management had no difficulty in obtaining widespread support from Nationalist politicians.

The Catholic Church realised that with the new Act it could not long maintain a school system on the level of funding available through voluntary contributions. In the view of the Church, the 1923 Act created a situation of inequality between schools attended by Catholics and those attended by Protestants. Only the latter would be likely to be transferred to local authority control and obtain, thereby, a 100 per cent level of funding. The Catholic Church, therefore, began urging Nationalist politicians to abandon their boycott of the Northern Parliament in order to seek redress. In a joint statement in 1923 the Northern Bishops said:

> ... in view of what has already happened, after waiting very long in the hope of some approach to equal dealing we consider the time has come for our people to organise openly on constitutional lines and resolve no longer to lie down under this degrading thraldom. 15

It was two years, however, before the call evoked a definite response and then, to begin with, only two of the dozen or so nationalist members took their seats in the Northern Parliament, one of them being Joe Devlin the leading Nationalist politician at that time. But from the moment they entered Parliament, the issue on which they spoke most passionately and most regularly was not that of partition, but that of the 'injustice' being suffered by the Catholic school system.

Of considerable assistance to the Catholic Church's case was the fact that the main Protestant Churches, unhappy about the provisions in the 1923 Act regarding the appointment of teachers and religious instruction, had succeeded in 1925, after a very public and vigorous campaign, in obtaining amendments to the Act.[16] In the event these amendments were not to prove entirely satisfactory and another campaign was to be mounted until further amendments were obtained in 1930.[17]

Joe Devlin frequently pointed to the government's readiness to introduce such amendments:

> to meet objections, not by the Catholic school managers or the Catholic authorities but by the Presbyterians... You never made the slightest concession to the Catholic minority... one would have thought that, in the light of the experience of your propaganda and of your success both as propagandists and as revolutionaries you would have given some consideration to the rights of the minority. [18]

While the Ministry of Education and the government generally, appear to have been anxious to see Catholic schools better provided for, they did not relent on the condition for school management committees. Nor would the Catholic Church bend on its opposition to such school committees. Its sole concession was to propose the acceptance of such committees provided they would have no responsibility for matters other than the care and maintenance of school premises.[19] The appointment of teachers and the curriculum of Catholic schools would have to be quite explicitly outside the remit of such committees before they could be accepted. In other words, the essential elements of Church control over Catholic schools had to be retained quite firmly by the Church itself and away from any possible influence which public representatives might wish to exert. This suggestion was, however, not acted upon because the government decided at the last minute to include a provision for 50 per cent capital grants to voluntary schools in its amending Act of 1930.[20]

Gaelic-Irish Studies in the Curriculum

The question of Irish and Gaelic culture in the curriculum has always been contentious not only in Northern Ireland, but in the South as well. In the North, however, despite the oft made claims about Protestant and Unionist interest in the language,[21] there is no evidence that this interest was ever widely shared throughout the Unionist community. Individual Protestants and individual Unionists have taken a very keen and active interest in the language movement, but its identification with Irish nationalism has always blunted the potential the movement has of winning any wider popular appeal. In Northern Ireland, therefore, the Irish language and the Gaelic cultural movement generally has remained very much an interest of the Catholic-Nationalist community.

When questions arose about the manner in which the new administration in Northern Ireland might regard requests about the teaching of Irish, those who favoured it sought no more than a retention of the status quo as it had been under the Commissioners of National Education. They probably realised that Unionist opposition to anything more than this would have been insurmountable and not worth the effort. Unionist criticism of decisions regarding the role and status to be afforded Irish in schools in the Free State from 1922 onwards would have been sufficient warning of this futility.[22]

The fact that new administration did not immediately abolish the special grants payable for teaching Irish and that it continued to operate the teachers' examination for Irish and to provide grants for attending Irish language summer schools, removed any cause for alarm in the early years of Northern Ireland's existence. However, concern did arise about the decision in 1923 to discontinue Irish as an optional subject below Standard Five, on the basis that this was the most appropriate stage for teaching a second language, and the decision in 1926 to discontinue payments for Irish as an extra subject in Standards Three and Four.[23] It was not, however, until 1927 that representatives of the language movement placed their concerns directly before the Ministry.[24]

Following these representations the Ministry of Education agreed to restore Irish as an optional subject from Standard Three. However, to emphasise its optionality an alternative subject had to be specified in case parents might object to their children being taught Irish. With this decision the pro-Irish lobby appear to have been satisfied, though it resulted in no significant increase in the number of schools offering the language.[25]

1930 - 1947 Smouldering Discontent

The provision of 50 per cent grants for building and maintenance purposes in the 1930 Act, while welcome to the Church, did not remove the Catholic-Nationalist sense of grievance. The fact that the 1930 Act had also made Bible Instruction compulsory in local authority schools, and gave the Protestant Churches representation on the management committees of transferred schools and on local education authorities, only confirmed the view of the Catholic-Nationalist community that they were being unjustly treated.

Catholics claimed that as a result of these amendments the Protestant churches could transfer their schools to public control and still retain their essential Protestant characteristics. The fact that Catholic schools could also have achieved the same status should they have been transferred was never seriously considered as an option. To have done so would have meant surrendering the ownership of Catholic schools to a public authority. It would also have entailed trusting that the terms of transfer would have been sufficient to guarantee that such schools would have remained essentially Catholic. That would have been asking too much from a Church suspicious of any form of state control of education, and of a community deeply hostile to Unionist governments.

Throughout the 1930s and early 40s, spokespersons for the Catholic-Nationalist community regularly drew attention to what they claimed was this unjust and unequal situation. When the 1938 Education Bill[26] which proposed raising the school leaving age to 15, was being debated fears about the increased costs which the Catholic community would have to bear became the basis for alleging a total conspiracy against their school system. Mr. T.J. Campbell, the leading Nationalist in Parliament at the time, attacked the Bill describing it as:

> rubbing salt into the wounds and sores already inflicted, as a matter of deliberate statecraft, on the voluntary schools of the Catholic people of Northern Ireland. 27

Similar attitudes were again expressed when proposals for restructuring secondary education were published in a White Paper in 1944.[28] The prospect of having to finance an entirely new system of Catholic secondary intermediate schools alongside existing primary and grammar schools was a daunting one indeed. Some voices within the Catholic-Nationalist community favoured outright opposition to the proposals using the argument that the changes were inopportune in the face of so many competing demands in the immediate post-war era.[29] However, the official statement of the Northern Bishops published in April 1945, simply made the case for adequate funding for voluntary schools saying, rather enigmatically, that otherwise the Catholic community "within a few years would find it impossible to live normal Catholic lives in accordance with the teaching and legislation of the Church."[30]

The government was, once again, not unsympathetic to the condition of Catholic schools and despite some strong opposition from its own backbenches and from Protestant-Unionist voices outside Parliament,[31] decided to increase the level of funding to voluntary schools to 65 per cent of capital and maintenance costs.[32] While anxious to link this increase with the establishment of 'four-and-two' committees, the government did not press the matter and simply asked that management committees be set up.

It is interesting to note, however, that attitudes within the Church towards popular control were beginning to soften. Indeed, a very small number of Catholic elementary schools had operated under 'four-and-two' management committees from the 1920s. As consultations took place prior to the introduction of the Education Bill in 1945 the Ministry of Education was able to report that some of the younger clergy "would swallow the 'four-and-two' principle if the Government would give them 75 per cent instead of 65."[33] Furthermore, a Canon Macauley had indicated that the "Cardinal would agree wholeheartedly, but he is restrained by the bishops."[34] Macauley seems to have been wrong about the Cardinal's attitude towards such committees, but correct in suggesting that the Cardinal wanted a more cordial relationship with the Ministry.

The Cardinal in question was Archbishop McRory of Armagh. Using Sir Shane Leslie of Co. Monaghan as an intermediary, he acknowledged that "popular control must be safeguarded."[35] Typical of Catholic-Nationalist attitudes towards local democracy in Northern Ireland, he argued, through Leslie, that the 'four-and-two' committee "would not work as it would lead to local canvassing."[36] He advocated instead an unspecified form of popular control exercised through the Ministry since, as Leslie put it, "The Minister would represent popular control firmly."[37] Further development of the Cardinal's ideas were interrupted by the publication of the Northern bishops' statement on the White Paper, after which Leslie declined to act as intermediary.[38]

The establishment of school management committees for the voluntary sector probably went some way towards realising this proposal. However, it was not until the more ecumenical years of the 1960s that the Church finally agreed to accept four-and-two committees in return for which the government increased its grant to 80 per cent.[39] With the renovation of existing facilities and the construction of many new schools within the Catholic sector, a much closer and much friendlier relationship had by then developed between the Church and education authorities both at Ministerial and local levels. It was this development which eventually made possible the arrangements legislated for in 1968.[40]

Irish, a persistent 'irritant'

The position of Gaelic-Irish studies over this period underwent hardly any significant change. The only major event was the Government's decision in 1933 to withdraw financial assistance for the teaching of Irish as an extra subject in elementary schools. The sum involved, even by 1930s standards, was very small, approximately £1,500 per annum. Ostensibly withdrawn on economic grounds, the decision was clearly influenced by anti-Irish sentiments within loyalist circles generally. Editorials in the Unionist press attacked the intensification of the Gaelicisation process in schools in the South under the new Fianna Fail administration,[41] Unionist politicians criticised the use of public funds for the teaching of a language which they associated with subversion and frequently called for its removal from the curriculum.[42]

The withdrawal of the grant only affected a very small number of schools,[43] but, predictably, it became a source of further grievance within the Catholic-Nationalist community for whom it represented yet another assault on their cultural identity and another denial of their right to be Irish after their own fashion. There was no redress on this occasion. Indeed some years later, in 1942, the Orange Order made representations to have Irish removed completely from the curriculum.[44] The latter was, however, compelled to desist from the attempt when the Minister of Education argued that the Order's case was "based not at all on educational, but purely on political grounds."[46]

Outside of small groups of enthusiasts Irish as an educational issue in Northern Ireland remained a matter for ritualistic concern. Nationalists decried its negative treatment by the Ministry, but did not effectively develop strategies for overcoming its limited appeal. Indeed not until relatively recent times has Irish and Gaelic-Irish culture generally received more positive attention in the educational sphere, evident in the recognition afforded Irish medium schools and the provision of Irish language programmes for the schools broadcasting service.

Conclusion

The period under review was extremely difficult for both communities in Northern Ireland. Although the Protestant-Unionist community was the controlling community, its basic sense of insecurity as an Irish minority which felt threatened by the island's Catholic-Nationalist majority, produced a defensiveness mirroring that of the Catholic-Nationalist community within Northern Ireland itself. These feelings were not new in Ireland, but in the Northern Irish context they accentuated the mutually exclusive and, at times, sharply antagonistic sets of attitudes towards education which, to a greater or lesser extent, had been evident for many generations. Over time, however, a considerable degree of mutual acceptance developed, the first signs of which were becoming noticeable at the close of the period reviewed here.

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PROBLEMS IN THE TEACHING OF PAINTING AT THE DUBLIN METROPOLITAN SCHOOL OF ART IN POST INDEPENDENCE IRELAND

John Turpin

In eighteenth century Ireland prospective painters could begin their studies in the Figure Drawing School of the Dublin Society and proceed to acquire painting skills independently by working with an established painter outside the School.[1] Fine Art education shifted away from the Royal Dublin Society (RDS) School with the establishment of the Royal Hibernian Academy in 1823, which had its own exhibition halls and school in Abbey Street where life drawing and painting were taught. In 1877 the State took over the RDS and its school of art, which was renamed The Dublin Metropolitan School of Art and was administered by the Department of Science and Art, South Kensington, whose utilitarian 'School of Design' syllabi it followed - an instance of Victorian cultural imperialism. With the passing of control to the new Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction in Dublin in 1900, a developmental policy for the School was inaugurated. This led to the growth of craft teaching and to the Commission of Inquiry of 1906, as a result of which William Orpen, a former pupil, was invited to come on a regular basis as visiting professor --painting up to the Great War. His impact was immense and he reorientated the School towards academic figure and portrait painting based on the practice of the Slade School of Art, London, where he had studied. The state was supporting two apparently rival life schools: the Dublin Metropolitan School of Art (DMSA) and the Royal Hibernian Academy (RHA): a seemingly unnecessary duality criticised in the government enquiries of 1857 and 1906.[2] The burning of the RHA building in the 1916 Rebellion created major difficulties for the Academy, although Dermot O'Brien (PRHA, 1910-1945) managed to sustain the Academy's life class in rented studios in St. Stephen's Green in the 1920s and 1930s.[3] This could not rival the physical advantages of the DMSA where permanent faculties for life drawing and painting existed, along with the teaching of Orpen pupils who were to maintain his influence into the 1960s.[4]

With the end of the War of Independence, and with the establishment of a Provisional Government in Dublin in 1922, enthusiasts for the revival of the arts hoped for considerable improvements at the DMSA. George Atkinson (1880-1941), who became Headmaster in 1918, came from an artistic Cork family and had studied at the Royal College of Art, London. He was a very active force in the Irish arts and crafts revival and was a leading organiser of an exhibition in 1922 at the Galerie Barbazanges, Paris, in connection with 'The World's Congress of the Irish Race', and an organiser of the art exhibition of Aonach Tailteann in 1922 and 1924.[5] Writing in the Studio in late 1923, Thomas Bodlin (1887-1961), future Director of the National Gallery of Ireland and of the Barber Institute Birmingham, was optimistic about the arts in Ireland, but he pointed to a number of problems: "The Dublin School of Art, is judging by results, strangled and starved... From time to time however, proof is given that Ireland can produce artists and appreciate art."[6] Bodkin commented in 1924 that under the control of George Atkinson "the School is at length taking its proper place as the Irish centre of art instruction."[7] Atkinson wanted to spread new art concepts in Ireland, as when he lectured on Post-Impressionism in Cork on 19 November 1923. Bodkin had a high regard for Atkinson's abilities.

However, it was the realist tradition of Orpen and the late Victorian Slade, rather than any exploration of Modernism, which was to dominate painting at the School. Towards the end of Orpen's period of teaching in Dublin, Margaret Crilly (1886-1961), later wife of Harry Clarke the stained glass artist and illustrator, was Orpen's assistant in the life class following his departure in 1914, and she continued until 1919. Atkinson was anxious to make an appointment of a teacher of painting in that year and recommended Jack Yeats (1871-1957), chiefly known as an illustrator at that time, but this was not accepted by the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction. In Atkinson's words "as a temporary expedient, pending the appointment of a professor of Painting, two "Post graduate" students were appointed, each for half time, to give instruction in drawing and painting." One of these, Sean Keating (1889-1978), who had been Orpen's star pupil since 1911, and his assistant in London from 1915 to March 1916, was appointed Assistant in 1919 with 16 hours per week. The other temporary position from 1919 to February 1920 went to James Sleator (1889-1950). It is worth noting that both Keating and Sleator later became Presidents of the RHA, and Sleator was also studio assistant to Orpen in London. Sleator was succeeded as teacher in Dublin from February 1920 to June 1920 by Charles Lamb (1893-1964) and from June 1920 to November 1926 by Patrick Tuohy (1894-1930). There was then a long gap after 1926 without an assistant in painting until Maurice McGonigal (1900-1979) was appointed as 'substitute teacher' from January to July 1934, and he too became President of the RHA. Sean O'Sullivan (1906-1964) served briefly in October 1934, being succeeded by McGonigal again from November 1934. Thus after 1919, while Keating was constantly employed as the main successor to Orpen, there was a variety of assistants, still leaving an unfilled assistantship between 1926 and 1934 - a reflection on the relative unimportance of painting as seen by the Department of Education which managed the School after 1924.[8]

The painting studios in the Kildare Street building had been built by the Science and Art Department in 1882 as an extension to the old RDS Gallery and Schools building of 1827. There were rooms for drawing heads from the antique, from still life, for the portrait head, Room 8, 'for drawing and painting from life' and Room 2 'used as a private studio by Mr. Keating'. Sean O'Sullivan also enjoyed a private studio there for a brief period in 1935. A city-centre personal studio was a valuable 'perk' for a portrait painter seeking clients. Hilda Van Stockum's published articles give the most vivid account of the life of a student of painting at the school in the 1920s.[9]

> Being a beginner I started drawing the plaster casts which lived like huge, dirty white giants in the upper room. Not many people did drawing there and the teachers taught sporadically; the heart of the school was obviously downstairs in the life class... The life class was a little world in itself, from which outsiders were excluded. The artistic kernel of the school gathered around its throne. The room had to be warm or the model would not sit. The windows were never opened, as far as I can remember, and the place had an indescribable smell of paint, smoke and dust... Orpen had left for England... but he was still a hero of the school of art.

According to her "the method of the painting teachers was simple: they saw your painting, told you what was wrong and proceeded to correct the painting themselves."[10] Comparing Keating to Tuohy she wrote: "It was in a way easier to learn from Tuohy because he wasn't so much of a genius; he was closer to the students. He was good at correcting your drawing."[11] Despite this, Atkinson admitted in 1934 that the painting section had "not had a fair chance since the late Sir William Orpen ceased to attend."[12]

The only art qualifications open to painting students in the 1920s, were the State's Technical Schools Examinations in art, inaugurated in 1913, in succession to the Victorian 'South Kensington System', but still as before, lacking fine art subjects. Nevertheless, every student aspiring to be an art teacher had to acquire this certification. The absence of any College Diploma in Painting with a curriculum, defined and examined by the school professionals, was a weakness when compared to the Royal College of Art, London. In its favour, the system did allow for the maximum of flexibility of working patterns, which however could easily be abused by lazy and part-time students. The lack of an overall art educational curriculum and policy of the School was but a manifestation of the policy vacuum in art education for the Irish Free State as a whole.[13]

Although Atkinson was a very dedicated and well informed art educationalist he alone could not prevent a decline in the general quality of education on offer in comparison to the pre-war years when the School was a leader in painting, sculpture, stained glass, enamelling and metalwork in the British Isles, and when students did excellently at the National Competitions at South Kensington. The dislocation of the Great War, Anglo-Irish War, Civil War and the administrative upheavals, including a new ministerial structure in 1924, meant that for ten years, Atkinson had to struggle in adverse circumstances with little support from above and with declining morale below. For a time during "the troubles" the British Government closed the School. Atkinson himself had a broad outlook in tune with the British

Studio magazine, with ideas on design for industry, but these found little support by government or public opinion in the new State with its rural peasant loyalties. Moreover, Atkinson's Anglo-Irish Protestant background and aloof manner marked him off from those in power, and from rising 'native' artists like Sean Keating, painter of nationalist heroes. Both men disliked each other: an antipathy which did not help curricular development or a concerted relationship with the Department of Education which managed the School.

Atkinson had proposed reforms in 1914 and continued to push for these during the War. "I adopted my own policy of holding the School together, creating a more lively spirit within, and projecting the influence of the school without." Looking back from 1934 he acknowledged that in European art since 1914 there had been "a change that amounts to a collapse of accepted standards, and a rise of a fresh movement away from realism and a growth of an imaginative, ingenious and more spiritual conception."[14] Clearly Atkinson did not identify modern painting with the Orpen tradition. The differences between Keating and Atkinson can be seen as part of the beginning of the debate about Modernism in Irish art. However, it should not be overlooked, that Atkinson was a loyal member of the RHA of which he became Treasurer and Secretary, and he himself was an accomplished traditional etcher.

Bodkin was well aware of the School's shortcomings, but as an adroit tactitian, he preferred to back up Atkinson as much as possible. Keating, on the other hand had no such tactics. Privately in 1925, he met Joseph O'Neill, Secretary of the newly established Department of Education, and was asked to submit a written report on the School, thus by-passing Atkinson, who was annoyed when shown the Report by the Department. Keating wrote that the School "has been for at least six years past in a state of inertia" and he blamed the system itself although he gave credit to the pre-war successes of the school in the National Competition in London.

> That period of success was due in the first place, to the personality and vitality of one man, William Orpen, who came as a visiting teacher four times a year, and brought new life and enthusiasm to the School. In the second place there was severe discipline and a complete staff of elementary teachers, system of cells, as it were, to hold the idlers... From the time of the outbreak of the War in 1914 and the ceasing of the visits of Orpen there has been a steady decline.

He felt that it had degenerated into a "sort of club for middle-class girls" and he ridiculed the ladies "making little lace designs, drawings for fashion papers ... Except for a few serious students who work in holes and corners, this is what the School of Art amounts to... The aim, so far as there is a conscious aim, seems to be the manufacture of get rich quick illustrators, and secondary teachers of "art" for whom there is little demand." Despite his lack of understanding of design education, or of the education of children, Keating was justified in pointing to the lack of academic cohesion for which the Department was responsible as manager.

> It is clear that the School should be either reorganised as a University for those who intend to make Art their profession or that it should be abolished... The official Government School or University of Art, if it exists at all, should deal with the teaching of painting and sculpture, as a university with, for example, medicine and surgery. The staff ought to be professors of the Art which they teach, and not constructors of syllabi. The formula for the making of a good school of art is 'by artists for artists'. 15

Keating's Report, at its best, had many excellent recommendations and made the case for fine art education at the highest level, directed by artist practitioners: in short, a prescription based on Orpen's own practice which was copied from the Slade model, and in turn from the ateliers of Paris where practising artists either presided or visited on a regular basis.

Keating later recalled that, in connection with his earlier 1925 Report, he had suggested an unprejudiced commission from outside, to include Sir William Orpen to report on the School. However, Orpen had declined but had recommended Joseph Tonks of the Slade who also had declined. Keating's Report of 1925, however, had been contributory to the investigation initiated by John Ingram, Chief Inspector of the Technical Instruction Branch, which had led to an official inquiry by three French art educationalists in 1927. They recommended an elaborate school of fine and decorative arts including painting, in the place of the existing DMSA. Bodkin and Dermot O'Brien, who were also on the Committee, felt this was far too costly and inappropriate for Ireland's situation.[16]

The visit of the 'French Committee' of 1927 occasioned further public criticism of the School in a series of letters in the Irish Statesman, edited by George Russell (AE) artist, writer and theosophist, himself a former student. Patrick Trench, a current student, attacked the School bitterly and asked: "Why does one go to the School at all? Because one cannot afford a private model and studio, as well as the printing presses and other apparatuses which many artists need. Here the young uncertain roots of the Irish art, struggle for nourishment and find none."[17] Sean O'Sullivan, then also a student, replied that he found few faults with the School but he drew attention to the low salaries. "The Master of Painting, I believe gets the noble sum of £120 per year - not quite so much as the lesser hall porters."[18] The most level headed correspondent was Hilda Van Stockum, another student: "Our School is run on a good principle, that of liberty ... Every student is allowed to develop in his own way ... At present the School suffers not from a week's laziness of one student, but from several years slackness of the whole establishment. The Government is aware of it or else it would not have set up a Commission of Enquiry."[19] Trench returned to the fray arguing that "If we cannot afford a lecturer such as is customary in modern schools in the history and critique of painting we should at least have plenty of books. Specially we need books on the modern technical experiences: i.e. Impressionism, Expressionism, Cubism and their developments. For the hope of Ireland as a painter's country is that being so isolated she may be able to use in her own way the technical results from modern European experiment. For this reason we ought not to lack books on the comparative history of art."[20] The call for intellectual and critical insights into Modernism was unmistakable, but how many artists and teachers shared this interest? Hardly Sean O'Sullivan or Keating. These were the first shots in a controversy that was to culminate in the flashpoint of the student rebellion on 19 February 1969 when Maurice MacGonigal, Professor of Painting, walked out of the life class which marked the end of Orpen's influence in the School.

There were no innovations for the remainder of the 1920s.[21] However, Keating renewed his call for reforms in 1932, following the advent of the Fianna Fail party to power with its strong nationalist ideology and with a new Minister of Education, Thomas Derrig, in charge of the

School. Keating wrote;: "There has been a steady current of dissatisfaction with the state of affairs for several years -criticism expressed in public and in private."[22] Later in 1936, Keating justified his outlook to Eamonn de Valera, Taoiseach, "My attitude is that it was precisely to revitalise the obsolete non-Gaelic and non-productive machine that all my efforts were directed ... Even when it stood for everything I detested, I stayed in it for 18 years hoping for better things."[23] Keating appeared to be making a nationalist _cri de coeur_ against the nineteenth century legacy of the South Kensington system of art education. However, what Keating meant by 'Gaelic' is not clear. It is interesting to set Keating's view against that of Atkinson who believed in 1934 that had his recommendation in 1919 of Jack Yeats as Professor of Painting been approved, "there would be today a distinctive national school of painting in Ireland."[24]

Simultaneously, within the Department of Education, John Ingram (who had had a large influence on the reform of Irish vocational education, in the statute of 1930) was devising new policy proposals for the restructuring of the DMSA in consultation with a special advisory committee on the School which he convened and chaired. Ingram proposed that the DMSA be restyled the National College of Art with a School of Painting headed by a professor (as well as Schools of Sculpture and Design, with their professors), and there was to be a full time three year course leading to a Diploma in Painting, as at the Royal College of Art, London.[25] This was a recognition by the Department of the unique nature of the teaching of painting at the School of Art for which the Technical Schools Examinations in art were inappropriate.

Regarding the Professorship of Painting, Ingram planned that this post should be part time so that the appointee could continue his professional work, but he felt that Keating should retire and leave way for Sean O'Sullivan in 1933-34. However, this plan of Ingram's was quashed by Derrig, who favoured Keating who had appealed directly to de Valera. This is an interesting example of the power of an artist's political contacts when challenged by senior civil servants. Neither Ingram nor Atkinson could beat the nationalist card.[26]

In designating the Professorship of Painting as a temporary post,[27] Ingram was seeking to preserve 'artistic authority' by emulating the tenure of Orpen, as visiting professor; these 'high minded' sentiments conveniently saved the Department of Finance the cost of a pension, and explain why Keating, despite his eminence, was never a permanent and established teacher although the Professor of Design was permanent.

The salary of Keating and of MacGonigal was less than £250 each per annum, for 30 hours per week, less than a National School teacher, another barometer of how the State rated the status of art despite Keating's publicly respected position. Jack Yeats, who was an active force on the Committee criticised the civil service idea of an age limit as an undesirable bar to talent, and it was rescinded for 'temporary posts', thus allowing Keating who was over the limit to be appointed Professor of Painting.

Finally, there was a revival of the old controversy of the justification of two life schools: the DMSA and the RHA. Ingram, probably advised by two members of his Committee, Jack Yeats and Leo Whelan (who was a follower of Orpen), stated categorically that the Department had set itself against any forced amalgamations in Dublin and that the DMSA "if it is to discharge its duties fully and efficiently ... must have a School of Painting under its control and management... It should be noted that in a subject like the teaching of painting, economy or efficiency or success does not necessarily follow as in the case of factories or industrial concerns the amalgamating of small units. Moreover, if the State really wishes to give any encouragement to art or painters, it can hardly grudge the present small subsidy to the Academy, in addition to providing a properly organised College of Art."[28] In reality there was a growing fusion of the RHA and National College of Art life schools, which became effective in 1941 with the closure of the RHA Schools on the withdrawal of the state grant. From the Academy's viewpoint, this was not the loss it seemed, as by then the Academy's teaching function had become dislocated to the National College of Art thus copperfastening the Orpen succession and projecting Orpen's methods into the post Second World War period. This was to be a major cause of the controversies of the 1960s in the School of Painting at the National College of Art when a full scale collision with Modernism took place with the maximum of public controversy, which led to the closure of the college by the government, and finally, after several years of bitter acrimony, to a new settlement in an Act of Parliament of 1971.

NOTES

1. On the general background to Irish art education see Walter Strickland, A Dictionary of Irish Artists, (Dublin: Maunsel, 1913), 11, pp. 579-638. See also John Turpin, 'The South Kensington system and the Dublin Metropolitan School of Art, 1877-1900', Dublin Historical Record XXXVI, No.2, (March 1983); 'The Dublin Metropolitan School of Art, 1900-1923', Dublin Historical Record, XXXV11, No. 2 (March 1984); No. 2 XXXV111, 2, (March1985); XXXV111, No. 3, (June 1985).

   On the Royal Hibernian Academy see Anne M. Stewart (compiler), Royal Hibernian Academy of Arts Exhibitors and their Works, 1826-1979, (Dublin: Manton Publishing), 1986. See also John Coolahan, Irish Education: History and Structure (Dublin: Institute of Public Administration, 1981), pp.83-104.

2. Report by the Committee of Enquiry into the work carried on by the Royal Hibernian Academy and the Metropolitan School of Art, Dublin etc. HMSO, (November 1, 1906).

3. For observations on the RHA Life Class by Patrick O'Sullivan, the Department's Inspector, see Report of the Commission on Technical Education, 1927, p. 34, typescript, National Library of Ireland.

4. Bruce Arnold, Orpen, Mirror to an Age, (London: Jonathan Cape, 1981), pp. 163-175; see also John Turpin, 'William Orpen as student and Teacher', Studies, LXV111, 271, (Autumn 1979) and LXV111, 272, (Winter 1979).

5. Report of the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction XX111, Report of the Headmaster for the School Session 1921-22, p. 192; and DATI Report, XX111, Report of the Headmaster for the School session 1923-24, p. 249.

6. T. Bodkin, The Studio, Vol. 86, (1923), pp. 215-288.

7. Ibid., Vol. 87, (1924), p. 46.

8. Memorandum: Atkinson to Department, 'Report prepared by the Headmaster in December 1934 on the present working of the Metropolitan School of Art, Archives of Department of Education, Dublin. For biographies of the foregoing artists, see Catalogue of the Exhibition Irish Art 1900-1950, Crawford Municipal Gallery, Cork, Rosc, 1975.

9. Hilda Van Stockum, 'Dublin Art School in the 1920s', *The Irish Times*, 1st part, 16 March 1985.

10. Hilda Van Stockum to the author, 6 October 1983.

11. Hilda Van Stockum, *The Irish Times*, 2nd part, 23 March 1985.

12. Atkinson to Department, 1934, loc. cit.

13. See J. Turpin, 'The Ghost of South Kensington, the origins of Irish qualifications in art, 1900-1936', *Oideas*, No. 30, (Spring 1987).

14. Atkinson, memorandum of 1934, loc. cit. In 1924 his main efforts were directed towards trying vainly to persuade the Department to appoint teachers at the School, and raise salary levels. See P. O'Sullivan (Art Inspector) to G. Fletcher (Head of Technical Instruction), 3 March 1924; and Fletcher to the Secretary, 22 March 1924, Department of Education Archives.

15. Memorandum, S. Keating to the Minister of Education, 2 May 1932, together with his 1925 Report appended: file 3458, State Paper Office Dublin. I am indebted to Brian Kennedy of the Ulster Museum for drawing this reference to my attention.

16. Thomas Bodkin, *The Arts in Ireland*, (Dublin: Stationery Office, 1949).

17. Patrick Trench, *The Irish Statesman*, 23 April 1927, pp. 160-161, signed as 'A Student', but authorship acknowledged subsequently.

18. Sean O'Sullivan, *The Irish Statesman*, 30 April 1927, p. 182.

19. Hilda Van Stockum, *The Irish Statesman*, 7 May 1917, p. 208.

20. Patrick Trench, *The Irish Statesman*, 21 May 1927.

21. This stagnation and disillusion with the arts in Ireland was acknowledged by Bodkin in *The Irish Times*, 19 December 1929.. 'During the eight years which have passed since the establishment of the Free State we could not claim to have produced anything which proves us to possess an art of our own'.

22. Sean Keating to Thomas Derrig, Minister of Education, 2 May 1932, in file S. 3458 in State Paper Office, Dublin.

23. Sean Keating to Eamonn de Valera, Taoiseach, 22 January 1936, file S. 3458, State Paper Office, Dublin.

24. Atkinson's memorandum of 1934, loc. cit.

25. Ingram's 'Proposals for Reorganisation at the DMSA', 1 March 1933, Department of Education Archives; O Dubtaig to Secretary, March 1933, a typical bureaucratic concentration on personnel and finance with a vacuum in policy making.

26. Sean Keating to Eamonn de Valera, Taoiseach, 21 January 1935, file S. 3458 in State Paper Office.

27. Draft circular, dated January 1936, stating that the Minister had accepted the proposals of the General Standing Committee of the School, Department of Education Archives.

28. See Department of Education to Secretary Department of Finance. (February 1935), Department of Education archives. An interesting analogy was drawn with the School of Art, Edinburgh, to which the Royal Scottish Academy's life class was transferred; this was not a success, and the RSA's life class was restored in 1931, and both Edinburgh institutions retained their life classes.

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THE MULTI-DENOMINATIONAL EXPERIENCE IN THE NATIONAL SCHOOL SYSTEM IN IRELAND

Aine Hyland

This paper will describe and analyse the position of multi-denominational education in the Irish national school system since its foundation in 1831. The paper is in three sections - the first section gives an overview of the evolution of the system: the second section provides a factual description of the re-emergence of multi-denominational schools in the Republic of Ireland during the past 15 years: the third section raises a number of issues and challenges which face the multi-denominational sector.

Section 1: An Overview of the Evolution of the System.

When the national school system was set up in 1831, its main object "was to unite in one system children of different creeds". The National Board was "to look with peculiar favour" on applications for aid for schools jointly managed by Roman Catholics and Protestants. while many of the schools which were taken into connection with the Board in the early years were jointly managed, the main Christian Churches put pressure on the government to allow aid to be given to schools under the management of individual Churches.[1] This pressure was so effective that by the mid-nineteenth century only 4 per cent of national schools were under mixed management.[2]

In terms of the curriculum, the main principle was that schools should offer "combined moral and literary instruction and separate religious instruction."[3] While the Board would decide the curriculum for moral and literary instruction, the Patron of each school would determine the form and content of religious instruction in the schools under his patronage. The rules for national schools to the present day set down that "no pupil shall receive or be present at any religious instruction of which his parents or guardians do not approve"[4] and also "that the periods of formal religious instruction shall be fixed so as to facilitate the withdrawal of (such) pupils."[5]

The principle of mixed education remained the keystone of the national school system from 1831 to 1965. The rules of the National Board and subsequently of the Department of Education up to 1965 opened with the statement that "the system of National Education affords combined secular and separate religious instruction to children of all religions, and no attempt is made to interfere with the religious tenets of any pupils."[6] The official lease of vested schools built in the period up to 1965 contained a similar statement: "... the object of the system of national education is to afford Combined literary and moral, and Separate Religious Instruction, to children of all persuasions, as far as possible, in the same school, upon the fundamental principle that no attempt shall be made to interfere with the peculiar religious tenets of any description of Christian pupils."[7]

From the mid-nineteenth century on, the Roman Catholic hierarchy made a number of efforts to convince the government to recognise that the majority of national schools were denominational and to change the national school rules to take account of this reality. Examples of such efforts included representations to the Powis Commission in 1870 - this Commission recommended to the government that amendments be made to the rules in regard to denominational schools in areas where there was more than one school.[8] Gladstone, who was Prime Minister at the time, initially considered accepting this recommendation but he was prevailed upon by his advisers not to do so.[9] In the 1890s, after the introduction of legislation relating to compulsory education, the Catholic hierarchy again made strong representations to the government to change the rules to take account of the *de facto* denominational situation. Initially the government seemed willing to introduce some changes[10] and the rules were redrafted by the Office of National Education; but when the revised rules were submitted to Chief Secretary Morley, he felt that they had gone too far in giving recognition to the denominational character of national schools and he refused to sanction the revised rules.[11] One of the main difficulties faced by the government advisers at that time was that of devising a formula which would give *de jure* recognition to denominational schools while at the same time ensuring that children who did not belong to one of the main Christian Churches would not be discriminated against. During both periods, the non-Conformists were particularly vocal in objecting to any change in the National School Rules.[12]

By the beginning of the twentieth century, the Irish system of national education was fundamentally different to the systems in other parts of the United Kingdom. In England and Scotland "parallel" systems had evolved, i.e. denominational schools existed side by side with local authority controlled schools.[13] This development was also mirrored in other Western European countries. In Ireland provision was never made for a separate system of primary schools controlled by the local authority, largely because it had been found by the Powis Commission in 1870 that voluntary effort had adequately met the demand for elementary education in this country. As a result, by the mid-twentieth century, the system of national education in the Republic of Ireland was one which was *de jure* undenominational, but *de facto* denominational in 97 per cent of cases.[14]

When the Irish Free State was set up in 1921, no major changes were made in the administrative system of national education. Radical curricular reform was introduced in 1922, based on the recommendations of the First National Programme Conference.[15] In 1925, the government set up a committee under the chairmanship of Rev. J. McKenna, S.J. to review the curriculum and the report of this committee (known as the Second National Programme Conference), which was published in 1926, included the following statement:[16]

> Of all the parts of the school curriculum Religious Instruction is by far the most important, as its subject matter, God's honour and service, includes the proper use of all man's faculties, and affords the most powerful inducements to their proper use. We assume therefore, that Religious Instruction is a fundamental part of the school course. Though the time allotted to it as a specific subject is necessarily short, a religious spirit should inform and vivify the whole work of the school. The teacher - while careful in the presence of children of different religious beliefs, not to touch on matters of controversy - should constantly inculcate, in connection with secular subjects the practice of charity, justice, truth, purity, patience, temperance, obedience to lawful authority and all the other moral virtues. In this way, he will fulfil the primary duty of an educator, the moulding to perfect form of his pupils' character, habituating them to observe, in their relations with God and with their neighbour, the laws which God both directly through the dictates of natural reason and through Revelation, and indirectly through the ordinance of lawful authority, imposes on mankind.
>
> As however, the prescribing of the subject-matter of Religious Instruction, the examination of it, and the supervision of its teaching are outside the competence of

> the Department of Education, no syllabuses of it are set forth.

The Rules for National Schools were amended to include an abridged version of this statement. While this statement highlighted the importance of Religious Instruction in National Schools, there was no change in the "fundamental principle" of the national school system.

In 1953, the Council of Education which had been set up three years earlier, issued its report on the function and curriculum of primary schools and drew attention to what it regarded as an anomaly in the situation in regard to the control and management of national schools. The report pointed out that the theoretical object of the national school system "is at variance with the principles of all religious denominations and with the realities of the primary schools and consequently that it needs restatement." It was suggested that "it be amended in accordance with Article 44.2.4. of the Constitution and that the fullness of denominational education may be legally sanctioned in those schools which are attended exclusively by children of the same religious faith"[17] (author's underlining)

When the Rules were eventually revised by the Minister for Education in 1965, no cognisance was taken of the fact that not all national schools were attended exclusively by children of the same denomination. Neither was there any provision made for parents who might not wish their children to attend denominational schools, although Article 42.4. which recognised "the rights of parents, especially in the matter of religious and moral formation" was quoted. In the preface of the new Rules (1965 edition), the following statement was made.[18]

> In pursuance of the provisions of these Articles (Articles 42 and 44.2.4.) the State provides for free primary education for children in national schools and gives explicit recognition to the denominational character of these schools.

It is difficult to understand how articles 42 and 44.2.4. can be construed in this way. It is one thing to recognise that denominational schools are an acceptable element in the system and to guarantee that all schools will receive equal treatment - it is quite a different thing to say that all schools are denominational and to enshrine such a statement in the official Rules for National Schools.

The 1965 edition of the rules also amended Rule 68 - the rule relating to Religious Instruction. The paragraph from the 1926 report was included - with small but significant amendments. Teachers were no longer required to be "careful in the presence of children of different religious beliefs not to touch on matters of controversy."[19] The omission of this phrase was clearly not an oversight. It would be interesting to know on what basis a decision was taken to delete this clause, which for nearly half a century had protected the rights of small minorities in the national school system.

The publication of the new curriculum in 1971 added a further complication to the situation.[20] The new curriculum, which was widely welcomed for its many innovations, encouraged the integration of subjects, both religious and "secular" subjects. In the introduction to Part 1 of the Teachers' Handbook, it was stated that the curriculum should be seen "more as an integral whole rather than as a logical structure containing conveniently differentiated parts." The handbook was specific that this integration should embrace all aspects of the curriculum:[21]

> The decision to construct an integrated curriculum... is based on the following theses ... that the separation of religious and secular instruction into differentiated subject compartments serves only to throw the whole educational function out of focus ... The integration of the curriculum may be seen in the religious and civic spirit which animates all its parts.

Taken together, the rules of 1965 and the provisions of the 1971 curriculum created a new situation. The state now formally recognised the denominational character of the national school system and made no provision for, nor even adverted to the rights of those children whose parents did not wish them to attend exclusively denominational schools. It had removed the requirement for teachers to be sensitive to the religious beliefs of "those of different religious persuasions". According to the curriculum guidelines, all schools were expected to offer an integrated curriculum where religious and secular instruction would be integrated. While the rule under which parents were allowed to opt their children out of religious instruction still remained, the rule became effectively inoperable since religious and secular instruction would now be integrated. Even if religious instruction were separately timetabled, it could be assumed that a specifically denominational ethos would "permeate the school day."

The revision of the rules in 1965 went much further than anything that had been contemplated in the nineteenth century and indeed farther than anything that the Catholic Church had sought to achieve in either the nineteenth or twentieth centuries. The proposed revisions in the 1870s and the 1890s would have recognised the denominational character of a school in an area where there was choice. It was one thing for the State to accept the validity of the request of Catholic schools for formal recognition of the denominational character of their schools: it was an entirely different thing, in conceding this demand, to ignore the consequences for those citizens who regarded denominational education as being "in violation of their conscience and lawful preference."[22]

Section 2: The Experience in Dalkey, 1974-1988.

There was a growing interest in education in Ireland in the 1960s and early 1970s. In 1967 free secondary education had been introduced and there was considerable public debate about educational issues generally in the late 60s and early 70s. The weekly newspaper The Education Times was published between 1973 and 1975 and acted as a catalyst for educational debate. Vatican II had encouraged involvement by the Catholic laity in what had traditionally been a clerically dominated Church. Some Catholics argued that "a fairly strong case can be made from the reading of the documents of Vatican II for the introduction of integrated schools..."[23] The troubles in Northern Ireland had erupted afresh and after 1969 many Irish people were anxious to break down barriers between Protestant and Catholic on the island of Ireland.

In some areas of Dublin growing numbers of families from a Catholic tradition began to send their children to local Church of Ireland schools, perhaps because they felt that the ethos of such schools was less monolithic than that of Catholic schools. One such areas was the village of Dalkey in south Co. Dublin. The local Church of Ireland school, St. Patrick's, had been a national school since the early 1890s. It had been a one-teacher school for over 60 years.[24] In the 1960s it became increasingly popular and the enrolment began to increase. By 1974 it was a five teacher school with over 180 pupils on rolls - about one-third of whom were Church of Ireland, one-third other Protestant and one-third Catholic.[25] Parents and teachers would have liked the school to continue to grow to an eight teacher school (one teacher for each year of the national school cycle). They would also have liked the school Patron (the Church of Ireland Archbishop of Dublin) to endorse the *de facto* multi-denominational nature of the school and to introduce a more democratic management structure. However, the school manager (the local Church of Ireland rector) and the Select Vestry of the parish were unwilling to allow the school develop to an eight teacher school. Following discussions with the Department the manager was "directed" by the Department to restrict enrolment to the existing capacity of the school. A letter from the Department dated 8 March 1974, included the following paragraph.[26]

> As is stated in the Preface to the Rules for National Schools under the Department of Education, the State gives explicit recognition to the denominational character of national schools. In accordance with this principle, it would be expected that priority in enrolment would be given first to Children of Church of Ireland parents living within the school district (which is not co-terminous with the Parish of Dalkey), second to children of other Protestant families and thereafter - to the extent to which space might be available - other children, and it is suggested that acceptance of children for enrolment should in future be decided on that basis.

This letter set on record unambiguously the enrolment implications of the 1965 Rules for National Schools. it also had other implications. If St Patrick's National School was unable to accept "other children" and if the parents of these children did not wish them to attend the local Catholic school, the state saw no reason to make provision for them within the national school system.

During the school year 1974-75, the parent-teacher association of the school had discussions with the Patron with a view to persuading the Church of Ireland authorities to allow the multi-denominational experiment in Dalkey to continue. It initially appeared that such a development might be feasible when the Church of Ireland Synod in 1974 indicated that it would welcome "agreed experiments towards encouraging integration in education on the understanding that denominational interests be respected."[27] However, it soon became clear that the Patron did not envisage such an experiment in Dalkey and a number of parents decided that a different approach should be adopted.

The Dalkey School Project was set up in 1975 to focus the commitment of those who wanted the option of schools within the national school system, which would be multi-denominational, co-educational and under a democratic management structure, and which would also have a child-centred approach to education, as indicated in the recently introduced new Primary Curriculum (1971). The membership of the new Project included some parents who had been involved in St. Patrick's National School as well as parents and others who had not. The strategy of the new organisation was to work to get one school into the system first, rather than argue principle at national level for many years to come.[28] The task confronting the Project was formidable. The national school system had been undisturbed for over 100 years. There was an established equilibrium between the Department of Education, the Churches and the I.N.T.O. There was a price for the Churches' control of education; they provided sites for schools and they paid the local contribution towards the capital and running costs of their schools. The State paid the salaries of the teaching staff, the larger share of the capital costs and theoretically, the bulk of the running costs - although in practice inflation has swung the actual payment of running costs heavily on the side of local rather than state payments in recent years. The Dalkey School Project realised that the entry fee for any new partner into the network would be high and that it would have to fund-raise on a very large scale if it was to succeed in setting up a school. The Dalkey School Project constituted itself first as an Association and later as a Company Limited by guarantee. It was decided early on to seek recognition as a Patron of national schools and to attempt to set up a national school within the existing rules of the Department of Education.

At around the same time, a group of parents in another suburb of Dublin was interested in setting up a multi-denominational school. A residents' association in a new housing development - the Marley Grange and Highfield Residents' Association in Rathfarnham - had campaigned for the setting up of a national school under the combined patronage of the association and the two main Churches (Roman Catholic and Church of Ireland). It had carried out a survey of the area and found that a majority of householders would prefer their children to be educated in a multi or inter-denominational school rather than in a denominational school.[29] In their case, there was no school yet built in the area. That Association entered into discussions with the authorities of both Churches and for some time they believed that their quest for a school under combined patronage would be successful. However, this initiative eventually failed because the Roman Catholic Church decided unilaterally and without consulting the Residents'

Association to proceed with building a Catholic school. It seemed clear that if a multi-denominational school was to open, the approach being followed by the Dalkey School Project whereby the Project would be its own patron was the approach most likely to succeed.

Meanwhile, political support for the option of multi-denominational education within the national school system began to grow. The leader of the Fianna Fail party, Jack Lynch, in a newspaper interview in 1975 had expressed support for a multi-denominational school on a pilot basis and in January 1977, he indicated that he "sincerely believed we must have some modicum of inter-denominational education."[30] The Labour Party had consistently supported the campaign and individual Fine Gael T.Ds and local Councillors had also indicated support, although Richard Burke, who was the Minister for Education at the time was hostile to the movement.[31] During the years 1975 to 1978 the Dalkey School Project was involved in protracted correspondence with the political parties and the Department of Education administrators while simultaneously building up its membership, establishing the extent of local support for a school,[32] organising fund-raising activities and searching for suitable premises in which to open a school.

In June 1977, a general election was held. Before the election Fianna Fail had indicated that if they were returned to power, they would support the setting up of a multi-denominational school in Dalkey. When Fianna Fail came to power in July with John Wilson as Minister for Education, they delivered on their pre-election promise and the following month the Minister instructed the Department officials to enter into discussions with the Dalkey School Project with a view to enabling them to set up a school. Eventually in September 1978 the Dalkey School Project national school was opened - in temporary premises in Dun Laoghaire. There was considerable difficulty in procuring suitable premises (the building in which the school started was actually bought for the purpose by Project supporters since no other building could be secured) and in obtaining planning permission from the local authority to use the building as a school.[33] Some administrators at both local and central levels seemed to have difficulty in accepting that a multi-denominational school could be a valid part of the national school system. This difficulty was articulated by a former secretary of the Department of Education, T. O Raifeartaigh, in his keynote address to the E.S.A.I. conference in 1979[34] and is also evident in a recent article in *Magill* magazine by Dominic O Laoghaire, who was Secretary to the Department of Education at the time of the opening of the Dalkey School Project national school, where he referred to the opening of the Dalkey School Project and other multi-denominational schools as a "concession".[35] However, many departmental and local authority officials were exceptionally helpful to the project in its initial stages and helped its passage through the complex bureaucratic web which had been woven throughout the century and a half of the national school system.

The Dalkey School Project national school functioned in temporary premises for six years, while negotiations and planning for a new permanent purpose-built school continued. During this time the school grew from 80 pupils to more than 300 pupils, from three teachers to ten. Places at the school have always been at a premium and selection is on a first come first served basis. At the end of the period in temporary premises the school was on four separate campuses - apart from the original building, classrooms were made available by the local Presbyterian Church, the Church of Ireland and the Dun Laoghaire Vocational Education Committee. When the new building was opened in 1984 by Minister for Education Gemma Hussey, all the political parties were represented, including former Taoiseach Jack Lynch.

The task of starting the Dalkey School Project national school had not been easy. There had not been a great deal of overt opposition to the movement, but it is difficult to say that it was not there. On occasions, the opposition surfaced, as in 1978 when an organisation called the Council for Social Concern, with an address in Ely Place, launched an attack on the Dalkey School Project organisers. A circular which was distributed in the Dalkey area calling on the electorate to contact their T.Ds. or to write to the Minister for Education registering their objection to the proposed school, included the following statement.[36]

> Atheistic interest in the Dalkey School Project is clear. Ireland's system of education is denominational by Constitutional guarantee ... We submit that there is no need for such a school as this which can only be divisive. It can only be hostile to religion in an age when it was never more needed ... Dalkey could be a precedent for major trouble in other areas.

Apart from the time and energy expended on the Project, the financial costs had been substantial - the local contribution towards the cost of setting up the temporary premises, the cost of the new building and the cost of purchasing the site was in the region of £150,000 - all of which had been raised by voluntary contributions and by various fund-raising events. In addition to these costs, the school management has provided the local share of current costs every year - at present in the region of £11,000 per annum.[37]

While the new building for the Dalkey School Project was being built, other groups with similar aims were active, and in due course a second and third school were opened in Bray, Co Wicklow (in 1981) and in Glasnevin - the North Dublin School Project (in 1984). The school in Bray opened in pre-fabricated classrooms on a site lent by Bray Vocational Education Committee and North Dublin opened in the old Model school building in Glasnevin. In September last three further schools opened - in Sligo, Kilkenny and Cork and at present there are further active groups around the country also seeking to open in the not too distant future - notably in Limerick and South Dublin City. It hasn't been easy for any of these groups - the perception within the groups is that is has been more difficult than it would be to open a new denominational school.[38]

Section 3: Issues and Challenges

Temporary recognition: Within the past year the position has become more difficult for the multi-denominational sector. In the case of the three most recent schools which have been recognised, the Department has insisted that these schools be recognised on a provisional basis only and they have indicated that the teachers are recognised only as temporary teachers.[39] The practical implication of the Department's decision to grant only provisional recognition to new multi-denominational schools is that no financial aid is given towards the capital costs of setting up such schools. Since this is usually a relatively small amount of money (in the case of the Dalkey School Project the sum involved was less than £10,000) it is difficult to see why the Department is so determined not to make this payment. For decades the Department has sanctioned capital grants for schools in temporary or sub-standard premises "pending the erection of a new school". In the case of such grants, the school trustees would sign an undertaking that "should the building cease to be used for national school purposes within ... (a specified period), the unexpired value of the grant would be repaid."[40] If this approach were adopted in the case of multi-denominational schools, as it has been in the case of denominational schools for decades, the Department could safeguard its investment in the event of the school becoming unviable.

In general the Department has indicated that it regards an application for a denominational school as a "safer bet". In a recent interview a Department spokesperson made the following point:[41]

> Say for example there is a new housing estate going up; you have a guarantee of maybe a couple of thousand pupils for a denominational school because up to now, the evidence is that most people want denominational education.

The Projects would argue that when parents had no other choice, they sent their children to denominational schools. But since the option of multi-denominational schools has become a reality there is growing demand for places in such schools - in all areas where such schools exist, the demand continues to grow in spite of the fact that the population of young people is falling.

There is every indication that the demand for multi-denominational education will continue to grow. In the 1981 census there was a sizeable increase in the proportion of the population who did not belong to any of the four main Christian Churches.[42] In the case of Dalkey, a survey of parents of children in the school, carried out in 1983, indicated that a considerably higher proportion of parents in this category sent their children to the Dalkey School Project national school than parents who belonged to denominations which managed schools in the area.[43] Applying these ratios to the population in the country as a whole - on the assumption that the same proportion of Catholic, Protestant and "Others" would avail of multi-denominational education if it were available within a reasonable distance, one can estimate a demand of between 40,000 and 80,000 pupils for multi-denominational primary education, i.e. between 7 per cent and 14 per cent of the national school population.[44]

The Future Provision of Multi-Denominational Schools

This raises the whole question of the future provision of such schools. Since 1981, the annual number of births in the country has been on the decline - a fall from 75,000 births in 1981 to just under 60,000 in 1987. Already this phenomenon, combined with family emigration, has resulted in a reduction in the numbers on rolls in national schools ard it is generally accepted that there will be a continuing decrease in school enrolments in the years to come. There are over 550,000 in national schools at present - this could fall to 450,000 by the year 2,000.[45] Consequently there may well be at least 100,000 vacant places in national school buildings by the end of the century.

Since the end of the war, and especially in the past 20 years, a major capital programme for national schools has been carried out. This has cost the government, i.e. the taxpayer, the equivalent of about 1,000 million pounds in current prices.[46] This represents between 85 per cent and 90 per cent of the cost of building these schools. The buildings are vested by an official lease for 99 years to which the Minister for Education is a party.[47] The lease states "that a National School in connection with the Minister shall at all times, during the term aforesaid, be maintained upon the said premises, and that every school to be kept on the premises hereby demised shall be subject to the Rules and Regulations of the Minister applicable to Schools vested in Trustees". In the event of the building no longer being required for national school purposes "the Trustees shall and will if required by the Minister, well and truly pay or cause to be paid back unto the said Commissioners of Public Works or their Successors for the time being the said sum of £__ so paid in aid of the erection of the said National School."[48] Despite the considerable investment by the State in national school buildings, the former Minister for Education, Patrick Cooney, has asserted in the Seanad that these national schools are privately owned and that the Minister can do nothing to ensure that such buildings be made available for multi-denominational schools or for any other purpose, when they are no longer required for denominational school purposes.[49]

It is understandable in the current climate of recession that every effort should be made to optimise the use of resources at all levels of education. In this context, a number of Projects have shown willingness to use existing vacant national school accommodation.[50] However, the denominational school authorities were not prepared to make this accommodation available and successive Ministers have made it clear that in this issue they are not prepared to intervene.

Perhaps the time is opportune for the government to review and revise its policy in relation to capital expenditure for national school buildings. Why should new buildings for national schools in new housing developments be planned on the assumption that everyone in the new area will choose to send their children to denominational schools? And when national school buildings under denominational control become vacant, would it not be possible to devise ways of encouraging denominational school authorities to make these buildings (which were financed primarily from state funds) available for multi-denominational schools? The multi-denominational groups could be required to reimburse the denominational authorities for their financial input into the building. If the government fails to take action in this regard, surely it is not unreasonable to expect that the multi-denominational sector be given grants for new buildings in the same way as the denominational sector was in the past?

Religious Education

All Projects were required by the Department of Education to submit a policy document on Religious Education before they were allowed to open a national school. In broad outline, these policy documents stated that the ethos of a Project school "reflects the ethos of a society in which there are many social, cultural and religious strands co-existing in harmony and mutual respect." The policies are based on the premise that "the primary responsibility for the religious education of each child lies in its parents, therefore any programme for religious education must take account of the parents' wishes with regard to the religious education of their children."[51] Two parallel approaches are taken in regard to Religious Education in each school:

> 1. ... the Board of Management will offer a Religious Education Core Curriculum, designed to help children to understand the religious traditions of life and thought that they will meet in their environment; and to help them to be sensitive to the ultimate questions posed by life and to the dimension of mystery and wonder that underlies all human experience.
>
> 2. The Board of Management shall also facilitate any group of parents that may require it to provide Denominational Instruction as required by them for their children....

In practice, this policy has worked well in the existing schools. The development of the Religious Education Core Curriculum has been a challenge well met by management and teachers and implemented to the satisfaction of parents. Denominational instruction has been facilitated for different groups in the different schools. The basic principle is that in the case of the Religious Education Core Curriculum, parents may opt to withdraw their children in accordance with Rule 69; in the case of denominational instruction, parents opt their children in to such classes.

In recent years, the Department of Education has attempted to require that Project schools meet further conditions in regard to Religious Instruction before granting them recognition. The Department is not now prepared to accept from other projects the policy document originally accepted by them in the case of Dalkey which had been redrafted to take specific account of Departmental requirements. The most recent group which is seeking recognition has been told by the Department that its policy document "must include an undertaking of the provision of denominational religious education within school hours, with access by clergy, to all pupils for whom this is sought."[52] This requirement is being appealed on the grounds that it is discriminatory. As far as the Projects are aware, denominational schools are not required to give a similar undertaking. From the start, the Project schools have asked that they be treated in the same way as other national schools - they have not requested exceptional treatment but neither do they accept that more difficult conditions should be imposed on them. All political parties accept that this is a reasonable request.[53]

Revision of the Rules for National Schools

The final point relates to the Rules for National Schools. Would it not be appropriate to revise these rules to take account of the reality of the present situation? Now that there are six multi-denominational schools in the system, it is no longer accurate for the rules to contain a statement that "the State ... gives explicit recognition to the denominational character of these schools."[54] Perhaps in the current revision of the rules (they have not been revised since 1965 and the previous Minister in the Programme for Action 1984-1987 indicated that a revision was in train[55]) account will be taken of the multi-denominational sector and the anomalies in the rules will be removed.

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31. See for example, report in *Irish Press*, 29 September, 1975 which which Richard Burke is quoted as stating:

> There is at present a campaign for what its promoters call "multi-denominational" education in primary schools based on the suggestion that education in schools under the control of persons of their own religious faith and by teachers of their own religious faith promotes disharmony and dissension in the community. To my mind this is completely false. Indeed I regard it as a libel on teachers to suggest that in educating children in accordance with the particular teachings and belief of the religion of their homes the teachers implant the seeds of intolerance and encourage attitudes of bigotry. It is also arrant nonsense.

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Irish Educational Studies, Vol.8, No.1, 198

RIGHTS, RELIGIOUS EDUCATION AND DENOMINATIONAL SCHOOLS

Margaret A. Librere

In the Republic of Ireland State provision for education is made predominantly by subsidising schools run by Churches or religious groups. In a State which does not officially endow any religion the provision of extensive State support needs explanation and justification. The explanation lies, to a large extent, in the history of Irish schooling since the founding of the national school system. Since then the Catholic Church in particular has consistently argued for, and sought to maintain and improve, its role and has been successful in doing so. The history of Irish education explains the present denominational school system, but what of the justification?

It is in the area of parents rights that we find an apparent justification for State supported denominational schooling: parents, as the primary educators of their children, have a right to provide for their children's religious education in accordance with their own beliefs and the provision of Church schools is seen to be facilitating the exercise of this right.[1] But I want to argue here that references to parents' rights as primary educators does not sufficiently justify State provision for denominational schooling. Hereafter I will use the term "the Church" to refer to the Roman Catholic Church, this being the most influential Church in Irish education. References to "Ireland" or "the State" may be taken to mean the Republic of Ireland.

In questioning parents' rights to use Church schools for their children's education I will not dispute their acknowledged right to provide for their children's religious education in accordance with their own beliefs. I will, in fact, argue that where religious freedom is valued parents must be allowed this right. However, I also want to show that rights are subject to qualifications which may render them invalid as justifications for the actions of any individual or groups. Where the rights of parents are concerned I will argue that the act of educating one's child in a Church school may be logically inconsistent with claiming a right to provide for her religious education. The basis of my argument will be that claiming such a right depends on, and implies, a respect for religious freedom and an obligation to refrain from acting in a way that violates the religious freedom of others. If, therefore, there is reason to believe that Church schools obstruct children in exercising religious freedom then it cannot be assumed that parents' right to provide for their children's religious education automatically entails a right to make use of Church schools. Before proceeding to the specific question of parents' rights I want, firstly, to examine briefly the issue of 'rights' in general, and what having a right means in terms of what we may or may not do.

RIGHTS

Statements of rights do not mark firm, definite divisions between domains of influence or action. Rights and the exercise of rights are subject to certain qualifications and limits. Such limits only become clear when the grounds on which a right is claimed are examined and, as a result, it is understood that the exercise of a right is subject to certain conditions, those conditions being determined by the context in which the right is exercised and the claims of others to certain rights.

A fairly straightforward example of how we qualify rights is when we classify them as either legal or moral rights, so that the exercise of a right held on legal grounds may be limited by the extent to which it can be regarded as a right on moral grounds, or vice versa. If, for example, I exercise what I believe to be a moral right to practise my religion where no such legal right exists, the moral grounds of my right may be accepted as *a* reason for my practice but, in those circumstances, will not indisputably justify my practice in that it can be challenged on legal grounds. Conversely a legal right to own slaves can be rejected as an absolute justification for enslavement, on moral grounds. The exercise of a right may, then, be limited by qualifying it as either a moral or a legal right. In the first case it is limited by legal considerations because I have moral but no legal grounds for acting and in the second case it is limited by moral considerations, because I have legal but no moral grounds for acting.

Even where a right is deemed to be both a moral and a legal right it does not follow that no limitations can apply to its exercise. Consider, for example, my right to acquire and own property which, for the moment, we will assume is a legal and moral right, and one which in general I am justified in exercising. If I steal I will be criticised for acting illegally and immorally, but this does not change the fact that I can exercise a right to own or acquire property. If I get my property by some technically legal but morally repugnant means I may still be open to criticism, but maintain the right to acquire and own property. In short I can have a legal and moral right to own property, conclude that the exercise of this right is generally justified but that the *manner* in which I exercise it can be limited to prevent me from acting in a way that is either legally or morally wrong.[2]

Similarly a parent, for example, may be assumed to have a legal and moral right to discipline her children but this does not automatically make any chosen method of discipline right. Rights are qualified by conditions attached to their justifiable exercise. Any right I have must be exercised subject to limitations which arise from legal or moral principles which may confer rights on others.

Having outlined some qualifications and limits which apply to having and exercising rights we can now turn to a particular right which parents are said to have, namely the right to provide for their children's religious education in accordance with their own beliefs, and to ask on what grounds parents can be said to have this right.

PARENTS' NON-PATERNALISTIC RIGHT

Parents can, as David Bridges[3] argues, claim a non-paternalistic right to determine their children's religious upbringing on the basis that they, as individuals, have a right to practise their religion freely. Assuming that people cannot reasonably be expected to forfeit what is regarded as a basic moral and legal right in order to bring up children, parents must be allowed to continue their religious practices. To say that parents have no right to give their children a religious upbringing is to suggest that a) parents have no right to practise their religion, or b) parents, while continuing to practise their religion, must exclude their children from such practices and protect their children from the influence of such practices. In a context where religious freedom is a valued right the first suggestion is unacceptable, so should parents then be expected to exclude their children from their own religious practices? This is hardly a reasonable suggestion. Religious practice is not, for example, like a hobby or general interest to which one devotes a fraction of time and commitment, and from which children or other adults can be easily excluded. Religious commitment is not usually peripheral to one's way of life but, more often, is a significant determinant of how life is lived. Consequently parents who have the freedom to practice their religion must inevitably have the freedom to give their children a religious education, insofar as the term 'education' includes certain aspects of a child's upbringing. Parents who live their lives according to certain religious beliefs can no more systematically avoid giving their children a religious education than parents who are committed to, and who live by, certain moral beliefs can avoid giving their children a moral education. I would suggest then, that on the basis of a right to practise their religion freely, in general parents are justified in providing some kind of religious education for their children.

As parents' right to give their children a religious education is linked with their right to religious freedom it seems that a necessary condition of justifiably claiming the above right is respect for, or valuing of, religious freedom. It makes no sense to talk of a general right to religious freedom if only some people are free to practise their religion. I am going to assume than that parents who claim the right to direct their children's religious education value the more general right of religious freedom. Where this is so it would seem wrong to take any action which violates the religious freedom of others. To know what constitutes a violation of religious freedom we must have some understanding of what religious freedom itself entails.

In countries where religious freedom is respected people can participate freely in religious practices, within reasonable limits. Religious freedom means that a person can engage in certain practices and profess beliefs without sanction, or equally, choose not to engage in such practices or support certain beliefs, without sanction. This absence of constraints implies a view of religion as something which is a matter of individual and personal choice. The element of personal choice means that one person cannot fully commit another to a particular religion. In societies which value religious freedom coercing adults to profess or practise would be morally unacceptable, if not illegal. Bribery or inducements unrelated to the religion would also be frowned upon. Genuine religious commitment is based on an assessment of the essential elements of a given religion and a decision that these are inherently or intrinsically valuable. The ability to give or withhold such commitment can be referred to as *religious autonomy*, which is simply the exercise of autonomy in the religious or spiritual sphere of one's life.

RELIGIOUS AUTONOMY

For a person to exercise autonomy (and to be autonomous) certain conditions are necessary.[4] I have already suggested that our respect for religious autonomy is based on a valuing of personal commitment, which results from an assessment of the intrinsic value of religion, and an independent decision to accept or reject it. Making such an assessment and decision would imply that a person has the ability to actually reason and to deduce whether or not a set of beliefs is valuable and worthy of commitment. Therefore to be autonomous a person must be able to reason. The act of choosing also implies the *freedom to choose*, a condition necessary for the exercise of autonomy. Constraints which widely and systematically prevent the exercise of autonomy in the end prevent a person from being autonomous. Someone who is constrained to adopt religious practices or profess certain beliefs as a result of factors not intrinsic to the religion (for example, the possibility of discrimination, fear of censure) cannot exercise religious autonomy.

Religious freedom and religious autonomy are interdependent. Where religious freedom is limited the development and exercise of religious autonomy is also limited, and where religious autonomy does not exist people are not capable of a genuinely free religious commitment and so, not capable of fully exercising their right to religious freedom. If we accept that genuine religious freedom is dependent upon the exercise of religious autonomy we cannot logically accept interference with the exercise of religious autonomy and continue to respect religious freedom. It would appear then that if parents wish to give their children a religious upbringing they must do so without interfering with their children's religious freedom and religious autonomy. Actions which interfered with such autonomy could not be justified by reference to their general right with regard to religious upbringing because these actions would not, in themselves be right.

It is arguable, of course, that children are not capable of being autonomous and so, that it makes no sense to talk of parents interfering with their religious autonomy and freedom. Young children, however, although not capable of *exercising* autonomy, have the potential to *develop* autonomy. Although children are not capable of exercising religious freedom and therefore cannot claim it as a right, as adults it will be their right.

Children can be said to have what I will call a *deferred right* to religious freedom, in the same way that they have a deferred right, for example, to vote or get married. Parents who respect religious freedom cannot justify actions which will have the effect of depriving a child of a deferred right by rendering her incapable of exercising it. If there are rights which adult members of society value, presumably they value them on behalf of their offspring too. People who value, for example, freedom of speech or religious freedom would not enjoy the prospect of their adult offspring being denied those rights. A basic adult right is a basic, but deferred, children's right. The child has a right to protection from actions which will obviously interfere with her deferred rights.

DENOMINATIONAL SCHOOLS

The choice of denominational schools is regarded as a natural extension of the right to give children a religious education, and is often justified by reference to that same right. However, in view of what I have said about religious autonomy and freedom, if it could be shown that denominational schooling failed to develop religious autonomy then it would seem that parents' right to give their children a religious education would not, in itself, extend to justifying parents' choice of certain schools. In other words the way in which the general right is exercised may not be right or justifiable.

The precise effects of denominational schooling on children's religious education are a matter for empirical research and it is not my intention here to present a definitive statement of the effects of such schooling on religious autonomy. What I will argue, however, is that there is sufficient doubt about the effects of such schooling to support the view that parents, while they may justifiably exercise a general right to give their children a religious upbringing, cannot assume that they are free to choose just any school on the grounds of that more general right. Nor, on the same grounds, can they expect to be free from any interference with school choice.

In examining the possible effects of denominational schooling on religious autonomy I will be referring specifically to the practices and stated objectives of Catholic schools. This is not to say that the practices of other denominational schools are immune to similar challenges.

CATHOLIC SCHOOLING

What distinguishes a Catholic school from other schools is what is usually referred to as the Catholic 'ethos' of the school. This Catholic ethos means that:

> the children are living their school-day in an atmosphere where the religious beliefs of their parents are taken for granted and where it is reflected, even if only beneath the surface, in the approach to life of the teachers themselves. [5]

This ethos is achieved and maintained in a number of ways but what is believed to be most significant is that the same religious beliefs are shared by all, or most, of the members of the schools. The pupils are assumed to hold the religious beliefs of their parents and there is great stress on the importance of having Catholic teachers for Catholic schools:

> The extent to which the Christian message is transmitted through education depends to

> a very great extent on the teachers. The integration of culture and faith is mediated by the other integration of faith and life in the person of the teacher. [6]

Teachers are expected literally to be examples of the faith by their attitudes to beliefs and practices; by participating in the religious rituals which are part of school life, and by their uniform response to the symbols of faith in the school. Symbol and ritual in general make a considerable contribution to the ethos of the school:

> A crucifix in the classroom, an 'altar' to Our Lady decorated with flowers in the month of May, a Christmas crib, the recitation of the same familiar prayers in the school as the children are used to at home and at the Church on Sunday - all these and similar 'little' things contribute to the background of the school. [7]

Pupils who attend Catholic schools will constantly be confronted with the symbols of Catholicism, displaying the fact that Catholic religious beliefs have a recognised or official status within the institution. During school hours pupils will probably be expected to participate in prayer at the beginning and end of classes and, occasionally, in the sacraments of the Catholic Church. At primary level children will receive specific and formal instruction for two of these sacraments, although the sacraments themselves are received outside of school hours and in the Church: this serves to emphasise the link between the institutions of Church and school. What are the possible implications of this strong association of school life and Catholic religious life for religious autonomy and freedom?

I would suggest that a strong Catholic ethos in a school does nothing to facilitate the development of religious autonomy and is, in fact, likely to hinder it because the conditions which are necessary for religious autonomy must be extremely difficult to create in this kind of school. One of the conditions identified as necessary for religious autonomy was freedom: to be autonomous you must, at some stage, be free to exercise autonomy. Pupils in Catholic schools are not free in the physical sense in that their participation in religious ceremonies is likely to be compulsory, unless their parents wish them to be deliberately excluded. In a different sense lack of freedom thwarts another condition necessary for religious autonomy, that is, rational appraisal of the inherent value of religious beliefs. In appraising and choosing in the religious sphere it is necessary to look at alternatives, and if choice and practise of religion is to be without constraint (i.e. free) alternatives will ideally be appraised in terms of their potential contribution to the religious dimension of life. In other words the choice of one alternative over another will not be influenced unduly by considerations which are not of intrinsic importance to the religious beliefs appraised, considerations such as social pressure or material reward.

My contention is that, in a Catholic school such rational appraisal is going to be extremely difficult firstly because awareness of alternatives in religion will be relatively limited and, secondly, where alternatives might exist they will not be acknowledged as such in the sense that each might be regarded as a reasonable choice. Awareness of alternatives is limited because, not surprisingly, Catholic religious beliefs are presented to pupils much more frequently than other kinds of belief. Even where alternatives are verbally acknowledged, because all members of the school share the same religious beliefs, pupils will not actually experience or witness alternative practices. In addition the display of Catholic religious symbols, combined with the apparent uniformity of commitment to Catholicism accords Catholic beliefs a special status within the school to the extent that they are regarded as the right beliefs. Although the religious dissenter in a Catholic school is not likely to be deliberately or knowingly punished, her opposition to the recognised beliefs of the school will be perceived as something which is wrong and which needs to be corrected, not as something which is different but valid nevertheless. Under such conditions it would seem that a pupil has neither the freedom that is required for the development and exercise of autonomy, nor the opportunity for rational appraisal which is essential to religious autonomy.

The majority of Irish children are effectively obliged (as a result of their parents' choices) to attend Catholic schools until they are at least 15 years old. In addition many remain in school until they are 17 or 18 years old. During the years of schooling the child has the capacity to develop from a dependent, heteronomous five year old to a state when she will be expected to be capable of more rational thought and independent action; and to become a person deemed to be entitled to basic rights (for example, to marry, have children, vote etc.) by virtue of her presumed ability to exercise rationally such rights. Deliberate neglect of the development of such capacities is an effective violation of the child's deferred rights, as it deprives her from adequately exercising them. If what I have said about the likely effects of Catholic schooling on the development of autonomy is accepted, then it appears that to educate children in Catholic schools prejudicially affects their exercise of certain defined rights. Since such an action fails to demonstrate respect for religious freedom it can hardly be recognised as an action which is morally right and so, it cannot be justified by reference to parents' general right to provide for their children's religious education.

Organisational practices in Catholic schools might vary in the extent to which they encourage or discourage the development of religious autonomy and the exercise of religious freedom. If so, parents who choose Catholic schools for their children might be justified in doing so if they could, practicably, ensure that the practices of the school remained such as to facilitate the development of autonomy. I suspect, however, that the essential idea of what is a Catholic school - as ethos achieved through the display of symbol, rituals, and uniform acceptance of beliefs - is one which, in practice, is incompatible with the conditions necessary for the development of religious autonomy and consequently, the exercise of religious freedom. If this is so, even where parents have the right to provide for their children's religious education, it cannot be assumed that this right automatically extends to an entitlement to choose denominational schools.

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THEORY OF AESTHETIC EDUCATION IN USSR

Dennis Hainsworth

Since the whole structure of Soviet education rests on the foundation of marxist materialist philosophy, it is hardly surprising that mathematics, technology and the sciences are heavily emphasized in USSR; their immediate application is to the engineering of matter and energy and to socio-economic progress.[1] Less widely appreciated, perhaps is the importance that Soviet educational theory has always attributed to the aesthetic development of individual and society. Lenin considered aesthetic sensitivity as one hallmark of his "all-round developed man"; not only does it enable him to *enjoy* the beautiful; it inspires him as well to *struggle* for its preservation and to *build up* a world society according to its laws.[2] Ever faithful to Lenin's mind, Soviet education has always recognized the power of art to influence the young in the internationalisation of the marxist world-view and the formation of a personal moral code. Art influences *thought*, *feelings* and *actions* because it works at once on a rational and an emotional plane; while it reflects on *existing* conditions of life, it also suggests to those who are sensitive and idealistic how life *could be*.[3] This possibility of realising a new communist world order is, of course, at the very heart of marxist thinking, yearning and acting.

There are other reasons justifying the presence of aesthetic education in the Soviet curriculum. *First of all*, the scientific and aesthetic visions are two equally important modes of studying reality. The nineteenth century thinker V.G. Belinsky talked of two paths leading to an understanding of this world, i.e. the paths of scientific knowledge and of the knowledge that comes through art. About the same reality the scholar speaks to us in facts and concepts, the artist in forms and images. Nevertheless art develops man's consciousness and convictions no less than science; indeed it enables the learner to perceive his surroundings at a deeper level and even helps to widen his intellectual horizon.[4] Lenin agreed with this. On the subject of sciences as distinct from philosophical and aesthetic disciplines, he observed that the former divide up the world while the latter strive to give an integral picture of it.[5] *Secondly*, the scientific and the aesthetic are two equally important modes of human creativity, and communism has to do with construction and transformation. "The aesthetic aspects of reality, and especially exposure to art as the highest form of aesthetic perception and world change, lead the child to reflect in new ways and to apply in new ways acquired knowledge and skills."[6] *Thirdly*, an exclusive pursuit of the sciences could well be dull for many children and harm their learning ability. An experiment recently carried out in some schools of the Estonian Socialist Republic revealed that a reduction of scientific-mathematical hours and a corresponding increase in hours given to the arts actually resulted in an overall improvement in pupil performance in mathematics, physics and geography.[7] "Time and again," observed the great modern Soviet educator V. Sukhomlinsky, "I have been forced to admit that a child's all-out mental development is impossible without that element of poetic, emotional, aesthetic inspiration."[8]

This paper deals with Soviet educational theory in the area of the child's aesthetic development. At the same time it is only right to mention as well that the new "glasnost'" spirit has been expressing some disapproval of the practice of aesthetic education in USSR. Criticism is to the effect that a very good theoretical programme is in many ways being sacrificed on the altar of pragmatism and national budgetary constraints. For this reason, an inter-ministerial undertaking has recently been given to work to raise the Soviet population to a higher level of aesthetic awareness. Areas of inadequacy in current practice were highlighted in a recent issue of *Sovietskaya Pedagogika*, official review of the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences of the USSR: (1) To aesthetic education is allotted only 5 per cent of total curricular time. (2) It has been progressively de-emphasized over the period 1940-85. (3) This diminution of aesthetic time on the curriculum is not being sufficiently compensated for by the official network of extra-curricular and para-scholastic activities and organisations (e.g. Pioneers and Komsomol) that are also supposed to sponsor and promote aesthetic development. (4) Parents are generally ill equipped to redress the shortcomings because they, too, are products of a victimized system. (5) There is, moreover, a shortage of properly prepared teachers in this area. (6) New art forms, like cinema, are virtually ignored in present curricular practice. (7) The network of liaisons that should be in place between the school and the surrounding artistic-cultural institutions frequently lack vitality. (8) Proper facilities are often lacking, especially in rural schools. The article of Professor Kvyatkovsky in *Sovietskaya Pedagogika* defends the theoretical soundness of Soviet aesthetical education and charges that it simply has not been given a fair chance.[9]

A Double Axis: Emotions and Knowledge

Aesthetic education unfolds along the two intersecting lines of a man's intellect and emotions. The lines must intersect because in practice feelings and thoughts cannot be separated in individual human beings. Emotions drive and motivate the rational person to engage in further reflection and research; rationality channels and applies healthy checks and direction to the force of emotions. Accordingly, Soviet aesthetic theory never loses sight of these intersecting axes. A human has healthy feelings if he is sensitive to the beautiful. The educator must help him achieve that sensitivity or "aisthesis" which *is* perception through the senses and feelings. But if the sensitive man would indeed be Lenin's *all-round* developed person," then he must also acquire a framework of knowledge which assists him to understand why certain things impress him and the community as beautiful. This aesthetic knowledge will embrace the terminology and mental categories, the distinctions and modes of judgment that mark the discourse of the aesthetic-oriented community. It will assist an individual to explore his or her individual artistic tastes on an enlightened as well as emotional basis. If the person chooses to pursue a life-course of artistic creativity, this same knowledge will be his or her faithful *vade mecum*.[10] Appealing to the authority of Marx, Kharlamov even maintains that the influence of art on individuals does not work spontaneously, that its effectiveness depends on the degree to which they have received an artistic formation. Without a grasp of the laws governing the artistic apprehension of the world, art itself evokes neither concepts nor deep feelings.[11]

Aesthetic Focus: Art and Life

Where is beauty to be perceived? Soviet theory replies that beauty's impact on the senses and feelings can originate in *art* or in that which art in some manner reflects, namely *life*.

An object of beauty may make its impacts through *sound*, *contour-colour* or *utterance*, and man reacts to these same in *song*, *design* and *words*. These initial human reactions provide the preliminary building blocks for what eventually become the three artistic genres of *music*, *fine arts* and *literature* each of which has its place in the current curriculum.[12] In turn, these different expressions of art become themselves the aesthetic focus and source of joy for others.

"Aesthetic" is a more comprehensive term than "artistic". Belonging to the realm of aesthetic is simply whatever can affect the sensitive person as beautiful. This can be as broad as life itself and encompasses *nature*, *work*, *human behaviour* and the perceptible harmony of *social relationships*.

One curriculum goal set down for first to third formers is an aesthetic appreciation of nature in general and of the USSR in particular. Natural splendours surrounding the pupil are supposed to enkindle their imagination, patriotism and a sense of custodianship and conservations.[13] Gorky once said that the earth should be worthy of man and that hence man should look after the earth as lovingly as he would create his own home. Therefore scientists and engineers should use their knowledge just as much to enhance nature as to exploit her. As values, design and appeal are equal to efficiency and speed.[14] In this spirit of custodianship, school children are brought on nature trips, celebrate the "Festival of the First Flower" and engage in landscaping projects around the school or community. Sukhomlinsky's rural school sponsored a "School of Joy" programme which sensitized pre-schoolers to nature and interwove this appreciation with story-telling, patriotism, social commitment and work. The programme is described in detail in his classic *I Give My Heart to Children*.[15] Children becoming first formers in

Sukhomlinsky's school are always assigned some particular nature-oriented project that remains their responsibility for the remainder of their stay in the school. In this way it is intended that each class recognise and appreciate its role in the overall enhancement of school and community.[16]

Making work a source of aesthetic joy has long been a big challenge in Soviet educational practice, and yet the construction of socialism is clearly impossible where work is "No more than a repellent obligation of no benefit to man's mind or heart."[17] For work to become purpose-oriented it must be presented to the learner not in the pragmatic isolation of mere skill-learning but in numerous connections with other educational influences, especially those appealing to feelings and ideals. Hence Sukhomlinsky disagrees sharply with those advocating a curtailment of the humanities. Here the underlying assumption would be that humanities bear no relation to encouraging interest in work, which is really to misunderstand one of their fundamental purposes. In fact, they are not truly "humanities" at all if they do not help render life more truly "human", and life can never be such where the full meaning of work and of categories of work has never been taught. "Without work", says a Prussian proverb, "man is an empty cipher."[18] The joy derived from work, Sukhomlinsky goes on to explain, is like the joy that comes from appreciating any other manifestation of beauty with one additional element:

> ... here beauty lies not only in what a child perceives, but also in what he creates. Joy in work enhances everyday life; as he learns to appreciate that beauty a child experiences a sense of dignity and pride in the knowledge that difficulties have been overcome. 19 (underling mine)

The joy of satisfaction that Sukhomlinsky here speaks of is further intensified by the realisation that by working one is also doing something *for people* and *with people*. The beauty detected in work is thus interwoven with the beauty and order inherent in harmonious social relationships. Of this latter we will speak shortly.[20]

First, however, we turn to a kind of beauty that irradiates from dignified bearing and truly human behaviour. The term "aesthetics of behaviour" (*estetika povedeniya*), now current in pedagogical literature, was first coined by the Soviet educator A.S. Makarenko (1888-1939) who used it to designate a goal he set before the delinquent and abandoned children gathered together in his colony. This experimental school was imbued with a strong collective spirit and its whole tone was set by high standards of deportment, personal appearance, speech habits, hygiene, courtesy and discipline. He worked from the premise that external order, finesse and beauty helped foster inner qualities of character.[21] The aesthetics of behaviour programme is part of Makarenko's legacy to the present Soviet school system. Even the curricular justification for physical training and sports rests in part on the belief that these activities, if properly pursued, inculcate grace of movement and form.[22] Education manuals also speak of the duty to expose the children to what is called "moral etiquette" (*nravstvenny etiket*) which is the recognized code of social conventions and rules of decorum. Among other things, it calls for one to be familiar with contemporary styles without being overdressed and ultra-modish. To help pupils achieve the golden mean, the school should organise encounters with designers, hair dressers, cosmetic consultants, experienced sales personnel, etc.[23]

Is it surprising, really, that a marxist aesthetic theory should be particularly sensitive to the balance and proportion perceptible in a healthy social (and socialist) order? For the convinced marxist, after all, the very *raison d'etre* of human existence is that of constructing, along with one's fellow strugglers, an ideal society in which means of production and socio-economic progress are both possessed and enjoyed by all on equal, though diversified, basis according to each citizen's needs. The harmony of the Soviet socialist order can be admired in miniature in the structure and life of workers' and students' collectives.[24]

It should also be mentioned in connection with the collective that it is, like the macrocosmic social order that it reflects, more than a mere *source* of beauty and *object* of aesthetic focus. It also has an active role inasmuch as it *intensifies the focus*. Within a healthy fraternal atmosphere the individual's aesthetic experience of art or life is that much keener. "An aesthetic activity carried out jointly by students increases the pleasure and joy they derive from the result and the experience."[25] (Meanwhile, in terms of the collective itself, there ensues the additional bonus of greater cohesion among the collectivists). Moreover, the collective atmosphere is very conducive to fostering artistic creativity among its members:

> The creative process is such that by virtue of its operation and results the creator exerts a mighty influence on those around him. The spiritualization (*odukhotvorenie*) and inspiration (*vdokhnovenie*) of one person spiritualizes and inspires others. Creativity spins those invisible threads that sew hearts together. Do you desire man's beneficial influence on his fellow man? Then insist upon creativity in the spiritual life of the collective and the individual person. 26 (translation mine).

Two Forms of Aesthetic Knowledge

We have spoken of the inseparability of emotions and intellect in the aesthetic experience. Regarding the intellectual dimension, Soviet theory goes on to speak of two distinct forms of aesthetic knowledge, the propositional ("savoir") *knowledge about* aesthetic matters expressed in the term "*znanie*" and creative *know-how* ("savoir faire") expressed in the term "*umenie*".

The first is necessary for reflecting or discoursing about a work of art or a phenomenon of beauty. This is the knowledge which comes with certain learned facts, concepts, laws (*zakony*) and a sense of the appropriate (*zakonomernost'*),[27] comparable to the Hirstian Aesthetic Form of Knowledge with its triple criterion of distinctive language and concepts, distinctive logical structure and modes of reflection, distinctive tests for truth.[28] Somewhat less ambitious than Kharlamov, above, in his claims for the role of propositional knowledge, Neuner-Babansky do admit that an object of beauty *can* exert a certain spontaneous impact without "*znanie*", but they quickly add that the content of that object of work of art cannot be fully evident to those who react to it in a naive or all but unconscious manner.[29]

As regards "*umenie*", it is felt that children have a natural attraction for drawing and story-telling. In view of this the school is seen as having two obligations: (1) *to provide the children with opportunities* to try their hand under supervision at forms of fine arts, music and literature so as to explore their inclinations and capabilities, and (2) *to provide them with incentive*. The yearning to be personally creative is best achieved by placing the child in contact with gifted, well trained teachers who are at home with the well spoken imaginative word, figurative art forms and vocal and instrumental music.[30] The school programme is to serve primarily as the creative child's launching pad. The child can then perfect and/or widen his discovered talents within the ambiance of clubs or organisations that are expected to play their convergent role along with the school in what is called the "composite approach" (*kompleksny podkhod*) to Soviet education.[31]

The Aesthetics-Ethics Relationship

If such areas of life as human behaviour and social relationships are legitimate objects of aesthetic contemplation, one assumes that proper moral activity, according to the marxist ethical code, [32] establishes not only what is ethically good but also what is aesthetically beautiful. It is interesting that the hyphenated term "moral-aesthetic" occurs with frequency in Soviet educational and other literature. Illustrating the point is the following passage from an interview with the Georgian film director Tenghiz Abuladze after the release of his widely acclaimed film "Repentance". His conviction, by the way, is that a true artist must have almost by definition social and ethical commitment:

> Essentially my aesthetic philosophy amounts to this: to be part of society, to listen closely to the voice of my own heart, and to be absolutely sincere ... As for the social motives of my work, I have this to say: when base aspirations come to dominate in society, pushing lofty goals aside, it bodes ill for the future. (By lofty goals, I mean *moral-aesthetic* ones; anything else is illusory.) An artist cannot be indifferent to what is happening around him. 33 (underlining mine)

One is lead to conclude that in Soviet marxist thought the ethical and aesthetic spheres, though perhaps formally distinct, are in fact tightly interwoven.

Although it is not asserted that the aesthetically appreciative person is thereby necessarily a person of morally upright behaviour, it is, I think, implied that an appreciation of the beautiful renders one almost inevitably attracted to the morally good. Relevant is a statement in the authoritative[34] Neuner-Babansky teacher training textbook:

> With an understanding of the language of art and the two-fold ability to discern the beautiful in artistic productions and reality and to produce one's own creative beauty, school children also acquire important foundations and presuppositions for a conscious and definite ideological and moral attitude to the world, to people and to oneself. 35
> (translation and underlining mine)

Two notions seem to be taking shape. On the one hand, Lenin recognised in art an extraordinary incentive to pursue what was for him the most moral of human activities, namely that of constructing a communist world order. On the other, Soviet marxist art is itself inspired by this same sacred moral crusade. To put a sharp point on it, art both inspires and is inspired by ethics. Or to reduce it to a dictum, "ethics leads to art, art to ethics."

I have just used the expression "Soviet marxist art". This is any work of art that has come about through the creative method known as "socialist realism". The main principle of "socialist realism" is to give a true, historically concrete portrayal of reality in its revolutionary development, which means in line with the marxist world view. The artist must seek out "the truth of life",[36] which requires that, directly or indirectly, the work of art celebrate a people's aspiration for progress and liberty in the realisation of communist

148

ideals and patriotic devotion to one's socialist motherland. This Soviet patriotism must take into account the multi-national, multi-regional and multi-cultural character of the USSR. Accordingly, Soviet marxist art must be artistically diverse and national in its forms, internationalist in its essence and appeal and socialist in its content.[37]

Soviet Education and Non-Soviet Art

If socialist realism is normative for artistic creativity within the USSR what, then, is the orthodox marxist assessment of pre- or non-Soviet art? The parallel educational question is whether pre- or non-Soviet art has a place in Soviet education.

In the early post-revolutionary period, Lenin assumed a position of unequivocal opposition to those who rejected any expression of art or culture that did not immediately spring from a professedly marxist and proletarian social matrix.[38] A work of art that spoke of and arose from a non-marxist social structure was not for that reason alone necessarily anti-marxist or decadent. After all, the marxist view of history places communism at the very end of a long process wherein the finest elements of the human race act like leaven in the inexorable movement towards perfection. Accordingly, any quest for socio-economic or cultural improvement - whether in the past or in the present, whether in life or in art, whether expressly or by implication - must be interpreted as a sincere, if incomplete or inadequate, expression of the restless and noble human spirit on the march.

Therefore, the classic works of literature, fine arts or music are usually justified and studied in the schools on the grounds of their authentic, if perhaps at times misguided, humanity.[39] At any rate, when teaching the classics, the teacher must not forget to point out, among other things, the ideological and moral orientation of a work.[40]

This view of non-marxist art accounts for UNESCO reports putting the USSR in the lead for the publication of translated books. In addition to world classics, contemporary non-marxist writers are also translated in large numbers. In 1981, for example, "half of the translations from English and 85 per cent of all those from Italian (were) works by contemporary writers."[41]

Therefore, far from merely tolerating other than socialist art forms, socialist realism sees any nation's or the world's artistic legacy as contributing something quite invaluable to the marxist study of history and its dialectical interpretation. In these works the student of history actually catches an authentic glimpse of something that otherwise would have disappeared forever, for these works constitute:

> a clot (*sgustok*) in the historical self-awareness of people as they reflect upon their identity and destiny, a coagulation of their accumulated values and ideals at some given period of time. So intense and pronounced is this historical clotting that an age's uniqueness is locked into intransience even though viewed in retrospect from successive points in the future (*i v gradushchie vremena*). [42]

Concluding

A really comprehensive treatment would also have included the theoretician's observations about music, the figurative arts and literature which actually figure on the present curriculum. The experienced educator and educationalist Sukhomlinsky has many interesting observations to make on these subjects. Neither is there time to explore the aesthetic educational role of Soviet institutions other than the school. Perhaps another time.

FOOTNOTES

1. Nigel Grant, *Soviet Education*. (Harmondsworth: Penquin, 1979), pp. 41-43.

2. G. Neuner and Yu. K. Babansky (eds.), *Pedagogika*. (Moscow: Pedagogika, 1984), p. 176;n.p. Kuzin and M.N. Kilmakova, *Ocherki pedagogicheskoi nauki v SSSR: 1917-1980* (Outline of Pedagogical Science in USSR: 1917-1980). (Moscow: Pedagogika, 1986), p. 216.

3. Neuner-Babansky, p. 178.

4. I. Ph. Kharlamov, *Pedagogika: kurs leksii*. (Pedagogics: A Course of Lectures). (Minsk: BGU, 1979), pp. 375-376.

5. Y.V. Kvyatkovsky, "Esteticheskoe vospitanie shkolnikov - na kachestvenno novy uroven" (Raising Students' Aesthetic Education to a New Level of Quality), *Sovietskaya Pedagogika*, 9, (September, 1987), p. 18.

6. Neuner-Babansky, p. 176. (translation mine).

7. Kvyatkovsky, p. 18.

8. V. Sukhomlinsky, *On Education*. (Moscow: Progress, 1977), p. 223; cf.also pp. 144-146.

9. Kvyatkovsky, pp. 18-20.

10. Kharlamov, p. 375.

11. Ibid., p. 377.

12. Ibid., p. 375; Neuner-Babansky, p. 176.

13. Neuner-Babansky, p. 157.

14. Ibid., p. 178.

15. First published in Kiev: Rad'yanska Shkola, 1969 and translated into 15 languages, including Hindi and Japanese, by 1980: cf. V.A. Sukhomlinsky, *Izbrannye pedagogicheskie sochineniya* (Collected Pedagogical Works) (Moscow: Pedagogika, 1981), III, 584-585.

16. N.V. Savin, *Pedagogika*. (Moscow: Prosveshchenie, 1978), p. 282.

17. Sukhomlinsky, *On Ed*., p. 192.

18. Ibid., p. 196.

19. Ibid., p. 195.

20. Ibid, pp. 195-196.

21. Kuzin-Kolmakova, pp. 218-219; Savin, p. 272.

22. Neuner-Babansky, pp. 178-179.

23. Kharlamov, pp. 383-384.

24. cf. D. Hainsworth, "Educating the Soviet Man", *Irish Educational Studies*, vol. 6, No. 2, 1986-1987), pp. 171-173: collectives and pupils' collectives.

25. Neuner-Babansky, p. 179.

26. V.A. Sukhomlinsky, *Metodika vospitaniya kollektiva* (Methodology of Collective Education). (Moscow: Prosveshchenie, 1981), p. 88.

27. Neuner-Babasky, p. 177.

28. Kvyatkovsky, p. 20; P. Hirst, *Knowledge and the Curriculum*. (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1974), pp. 85-86, 44; J.W. Tibble (ed.), *The Study of Education* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966), pp. 43-44; D. Hainsworth, "Where Curricula Converge", *Rostrum* (1987), p. 140.

29. Neuner-Babansky, p. 177.

30. Kharlamov, p. 378.

31. Neuner-Babansky, p. 177; cf. D. Hainsworth, "Educating", pp. 162-163: complex approach to education.

32. cf. Hainsworth, "Educating", pp. 167-170: communist ethics.

33. Vladimir Mezhenkov (ed.), *Soviet Scene 1987*. (London & Wellingborough: Collets, 1987), p. 221.

34. Particularly so since Gerhard Neuner and Yuri Babansky were at the time President and Vice-President respectively of the Academies of Pedagogical Sciences of the G.D.R. and of the U.S.S.R.

35. Neuner-Babansky, p. 176.

36. Kharlamov, p. 380.

37. Z. Barbveshkina, L. Yakovleva and D. Zerkin, What is Historical Materialism? (Moscow: Progress, 1985), p. 164; USSR Cultural Life. (Moscow: Novosti, 1975), p. 60.

38. D. Hainsworth, "Soviet Pedagogical Theory and Methodology: 1917-1980", Irish Educational Studies, vol. 7, No. 2, (1988), pp. 67-68, 74.

39. cf. Hainsworth, "Educating", pp. 168-170: communist vs. abstract humanism.

40. Kharlamov, p.380; Neuner-Babansky, pp. 175-176.

41. Ivetta Knyazeva, A Nation of Readers. (Moscow: Novosti, 1981), pp. 6-7.

42. Neuner-Babansky, p. 178.

Irish Educational Studies, Vol.8, No.1, 1989

WHEN REASON SLEEPS: ARGUMENTS FOR THE INTRODUCTION OF PHILOSOPHY INTO PRIMARY SCHOOLS

Patrick J.M. Costello

"The sleep of reason produces monsters". Goya

In Britain and Ireland today, the discussion of philosophical ideas is a seriously neglected element in the education of primary school children. No doubt a major reason for this unfortunate state of affairs is a widespread acceptance of the notion that such children are simply not equal to the task, since they are largely incapable of the mature reflection and rational thought which philosophy presupposes.[1] Philosophy, it is suggested, belongs to the later years of secondary education, if not to universities and colleges. My purpose in this paper is to offer arguments for the introduction of philosophy at the primary level.

I begin by endorsing the view shared by a number of recent reports, namely that children's thinking and valuing processes should be fostered within existing curricula. For example, the Schools Council Working Paper Primary Practice suggests that children should acquire "a reasoned set of attitudes, values and beliefs".[2] The HMI report The Curriculum from 5 to 16 refers for the need for schools "to help pupils to develop lively enquiring minds (and) the ability to question and argue rationally."[3] Finally, the Discussion Paper Education 10-14 in Scotland argues that "pupils should be encouraged to discuss moral issues appropriate to their age and stage of development, to offer relevant reasons in support of what they judge to be right and to attend to reasons offered by others."[4]

While these documents and others recommend that children's reasoning skills should be promoted, scant regard is given to suggesting ways in which this might be accomplished. One might suppose (as the last quote above suggests) that classroom discussion is the most appropriate medium through which to foster such skills. Yet this is precisely what the authors of the *Curriculum from 5 to 16* suggest is being "squeezed out" of the curriculum".[5] In order to remedy this deficiency, I wish to argue that we need look no further than to philosophy itself.

In recent years, in the United States, there has emerged what has been called "a new branch of philosophy":[6] philosophy for children, which has established itself as an important part of the curriculum in American elementary schools and elsewhere. The main pioneer of this new field of philosophy is Matthew Lipman, who, with others, was responsible for founding the 'Institute for the Advancement of Philosophy for Children' (IAPC). His philosophical novel, *Harry Stottlemeier's Discovery* (Harry Stottle = Aristotle), has been introduced as a classroom text for many ten-to-twelve year old American children. One group of such children was "found by IQ tests to have a mental age as regards general reasoning ability which was 27 months in advance of (its peer groups) of equal age and otherwise equal education."[7]

But this is to anticipate the arguments I shall offer below. Before advocating the introduction of philosophy into the primary school curriculum, the arguments of those who assert that philosophy is for adults and not for children will have to be countered. This view is by no means recent in origin, having been espoused by both Plato and Aristotle. In the *Republic*

Plato argues that "dialectic (philosophy) can only be introduced to those who have successfully completed many years of training and study and who have reached the age of thirty."[8] He suggests that to introduce philosophy at an earlier age is fraught with difficulties:

> And there's one great precaution you can take, which is to stop their getting a taste of (philosophical discussions) too young. You must have noticed how young men, after their first taste of argument, are always contradicting people just for the fun of it; they imitate those whom they hear cross-examining each other, and themselves cross-examining other people, like puppies who love to pull and tear at anyone within reach. 9

Aristotle argues that the young lack the requisite experience of living to profit from his lectures on politics (to which ethics is a kind of introduction).[10] In their contributions to philosophical discussions, the young merely echo the pronouncements of others. This is in contrast to their ability to become competent in mathematics, the truths of which are derived without recourse to experience:

> One might further ask why it is that a lad may become a mathematician, but not a philosopher or a natural scientist. Probably it is because the former subject deals with abstractions, whereas the principles of the two latter are grasped only as the result of experience; and the young repeat the doctrines of these without actually believing them, but in mathematics the reason why is not hard to see. 11

More recently, the Swiss psychologist Jean Piaget, in arguing that children are egocentric, seems to suggest that they are incapable of engaging in philosophical discourse.[12]

However, it is my no means universally accepted that children are incapable of 'doing philosophy'. In describing what was perhaps his first experience of philosophical thinking, Lev Tolstoy shows that pondering the so-called 'eternal questions' does not belong exclusively to adulthood:

> I can scarcely believe what were the favourite and most constant subjects of my meditations during my boyhood - they were so incompatible with my age and position. During the course of the year ... all the abstract questions concerning the destination of man, the future life, the immortality of the soul ... presented themselves... to my mind with such clearness, and in such a striking light, that I even tried to apply them to life, fancying that I was the *first* to discover such great and useful truths. [13]

The best way to refute arguments such as those offered to us by Plato, Aristotle and Piaget, is to show in some detail that children are capable of engaging, in a competent (and often skilful manner), in philosophical debate and argument. This I have demonstrated elsewhere.[14] Presuming that children are capable of thinking philosophically, we must now ask, what arguments are there for introducing philosophy into primary schools?

To begin with, it has been argued that while much has been done to teach children to think about mathematics, history and so on, little attempt has been made to teach them to think about their own thought processes and about those of others.[15] Such reasoning as the child performs is taught through traditional subjects, but, as Lipman asserts: "While reading and mathematics are disciplines that contribute usefully to good thinking, they cannot *suffice* to produce it. Something more is needed."[16]

Before examining what this 'something' might entail, we should note that omitting to offer children explicit teaching which is aimed at fostering their thinking and valuing processes, may have serious implications for their intellectual development. For example, we might ask why it is that children who enter school at four or five years of age questioning many things, often emerge from a period of compulsory schooling questioning very little.[17] One consequence of limiting the study of philosophy to secondary schools, colleges and universities, is that the thought processes of students will already have been formed by the time an introduction to critical thinking becomes possible.[18] According to Levine, such thought processes are "the standard constructs of the social community."[19]

This raises a related problem, namely the use of indoctrination in schools. My interest in children's philosophy has derived from a prior concern to analyse those conceptions of 'indoctrination' which have been offered by philosophers of education and others. Finding these to be unsatisfactory, I offered my own conception which distinguishes between justifiable and unjustifiable indoctrination.[20] Given that such a distinction can be made, I now faced the question: how is it possible to remedy the ills of unjustifiable indoctrination in the classroom? It became clear to me that the teaching of philosophy to children might go a long way to providing an antidote to such indoctrination.

Although in recent times philosophy has made a welcome appearance in certain 'A' level syllabuses, no systematic efforts have yet been made to encourage the development of philosophical thinking in primary schools. Why? Answers to this question are, I believe, twofold. To begin with: "Most adults don't like their natural

159

advantage over children (being) subverted. So they discourage a child from pursuing questions to which neither they, nor anyone they know, can give definitive answers."[21] Secondly, Lipman asks why it is that we give our children sex education (i.e. discourse on their bodily functions) and yet we are not concerned to teach them about their own thoughts (i.e. discourse on their mental functions). His answer is clear: "One cannot help suspecting the reason: mindlessness does not seem to threaten the established order; thoughtfulness might. An irrational social order is threatened far more by rationality than by irrationality."[22]

Further arguments may be advanced in favour of the introduction of philosophy into primary schools. The protagonists of such arguments point out what they see as being the academic, personal and social benefits derived by children who have been exposed to philosophy in the classroom. For example, Bruce Burnes[23] and Barry Curtis[24] both report in some detail on research which shows that children who had studied *Harry Stottlemeier's Discovery* made significant improvements in reading and critical reasoning. Additionally, Burnes states that teachers involved in his project noticed an "improvement in the children's social skills, particularly in respect of other children's rights."[25]

Al Thompson has argued that philosophy can improve children's performance in "reading, mathematics, science, language arts, and the social studies."[26] Eileen Kenna writes that a philosophy course is being used in a district of Pennsylvania to help children to make important moral and social decisions: "School officials hope that if kids feel good about themselves and use the reasoning skills they develop in philosophy class to figure out the consequences of drug use, they'll be less likely to consume alcohol, marijuana or other drugs."[27] Glen Ebisch, a trainer of teachers in Lipman's 'Philosophy for Children' programme, notes that inner-city children, who are often lacking in basic educational shills, did not find the logic sections in *Harry Stottlemeier's Discovery* to be especially difficult. In fact, "some individuals who otherwise rarely participated in class on any subject were the most capable at solving the logic problems and enjoyed doing so."[28]

The question which must now be asked is: how is philosophy to be taught in schools? In answering this, it is necessary to address a major problem with Lipman's material - it is all in *written* form. Therefore, a teacher using it has two choices. He can ask children to read portions of it aloud, or he can read it all himself. Neither approach is without its difficulties, but the former may be more problematic, since poorer readers are likely to be discouraged at the outset and may come to look upon philosophy as one more subject in which they are unable to 'shine'. Should the teacher decide to read the material himself, this may become a laborious task and lead to boredom for children. One way to alleviate this problem is to offer children a number of media through which to study philosophy.

My own approach conceives of philosophy being taught in three ways. Firstly, children's stories may be used as vehicles for the introduction of philosophical ideas. I have written a number of such stories involving three children: Knowlittle, Knowless and Knownothing. These characters inhabit a fantasy world, making visits to the Snow Queendom and to the kingdoms of King Extrawork and King Eversonice etc., in the search for a domain where there are some good rules by which to live. With regard to storytelling, such a setting allows more flexibility than is permitted to Lipman, and so creates the maximum potential for the writing of stories which are capable of capturing children's attention and interest. Once this has been achieved, the philosophical themes which are embedded in the text can be discussed more readily.[29]

A second method involves giving children philosophical problems and samples of reasoning to discuss (see Appendix 1). Finally, diagramatic representation (e.g. overhead projector transparencies) may be used to initiate discussions. This is particularly important for children who are poor readers, but whose reasoning ability may be as good as, or better than, that of their peers (see Appendix 2).

If the arguments which I have offered are acceptable, we must now ask whether philosophy is to be introduced into primary schools as a distinct subject, to be viewed as intrinsically worthwhile; or whether it is to be integrated into the curriculum and valued for its instrumental benefits: its ability to make children more reflective and critical about subjects such as history, science, etc. My own view is that one should regard the study of philosophy as having both intrinsic and extrinsic worth. If such study can lead to greater academic achievement in other subjects, then its integration into the curriculum should be welcomed. However, as Lipman and Sharp suggest: "whatever the specific form (children's) philosophical activity may take, not to encourage them to work with ideas and to cherish them for their own sake is to be educationally irresponsible."[30]

We live in a world in which, perhaps more than ever before, there is a need for people to think clearly. Politicians, religious authorities, advertisers and the media constantly tell us what we should buy, think and even hope for. While arguments offered to us are often of a moral sort, they are sometimes simply logical. Consequently, children must be able to recognise and assess examples of both moral and logical reasoning. This can best be achieved through the teaching of logic and ethics, which should begin in the primary school.

Philosophical training must be given to children at an early age, since without it they will merely appropriate the standard (and often unreasoned) beliefs and opinions prevalent in their immediate environment. The teaching of philosophy to children can do much to counteract the prejudices and uncritical thinking which are a fact of everyday adult life. It is the responsibility of the philosopher, one of whose tasks is to clarify our thinking,[31] to initiate such teaching.

When reason sleeps, unjustifiable indoctrination inevitably exerts itself. When we encourage children to think philosophically, we help them to become members of (and to participate in) a "community of inquiry". Such a community is characterized by an attitude of "openness to evidence and to reason", "mutual respect" (for pupils by teachers, and for teachers and for each other by pupils) and an absence of that type of indoctrination which, I wish to argue, is to be proscribed.[32]

That the teaching of logical and ethical reasoning to children can reduce significantly the threats posed by unjustifiable indoctrination, I have no doubt. As Robert Dearden suggests: "Philosophy well taught has an important contribution to make in cultivating that critical attitude and rational temper of mind which will never be content simply to echo received doctrines or simply to acquiesce before the pronouncements of authority, but must screen before personally accepting."[33]

APPENDIX 1

Philosophical Pot-Pourri

1. John says: "I know that the sun will come up tomorrow". Can John know this *today*?
2. Do animals feel pain? How do you know?
3. Can a chess computer think?
4. What do we mean when we say that a person is 'courageous'?
5. Were our noses made to help us to wear spectacles?
6. Someone drives his car at 30 m.p.h. with his eyes closed. He runs into two people on a zebra crossing. He says: "I didn't know that there was anyone on the crossing." Does this mean that he is not to be blamed, because he did not *intend* to injure those people?
7. Might it be possible for objects to disappear when no one is looking at them?

The Moral Talent Competition

You are a strong swimmer. During a visit to the swimming baths by your class, your classmate falls in at the deep end of the pool and shouts for help. You say:

1. I'm not jumping in - I'll get wet.
2. I'll jusp in as X owes me £5 and I want to be paid back.
3. I'm not jumping in - I don't like X very much.
4. I'll jump in and help X, otherwise X may drown.
5. I'm not jumping in, because my teacher will tell me off for going up to the deep end of the pool without permission.
6. I'll jump in, as my teacher is sure to give me a reward.
7. I'll jump in and help X, because X is my friend.

If you are *not* a good swimmer, what would you do
Could you be blamed for not jumping in to help your friend?

APPENDIX 2

The word 'all' is frequently used in arguments to overstate a case. Sometimes these arguments are of a sexist/racist nature. The purpose of this exercise is to demonstrate the relevance of the teaching of logic to the evaluation of such reasoning.

Children should be made aware of the following rule:
A statement beginning with 'all' if true, is generally false when the subject and predicate are reversed.

For example: All boys are children TRUE
All children are boys FALSE
Ask children to think of further examples
Are there any exceptions to this rule?
These are called IDENTITY statements.
For example: All bachelors are unmarried men TRUE
All unmarried men are bachelors TRUE
Ask children to think of further examples

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Assess the following arguments:

The Apple Pie

Mr Jones says: "This apple pie looks delicious! It must have been a girl who baked it, because all girls are good cooks."
Point of example: Just because for Mr Jones all girls are good cooks, this does not mean that all good cooks are girls. Therefore a boy may have baked the apple pie.

Inspector Clueless

Inspector Clueless says: "Whoever robbed the safe was wearing a beret. All French men are people who wear berets, so a French man must have robbed the safe!"

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THE EUROPEAN SCHOOLS - TOWER OF BABEL OR BRAVE NEW WORLD?

Desmond Swan

There are three good reasons why the European Schools, as they are called, will be of interest to all professional educationalists. They are:

1 Because they constitute a unique,new and challenging school system, aiming at things unattempted yet in the annals of education;
2 Because, in the words of Professor Nigel Grant (1977) the logic of events internationally now points to a convergence of education systems - and these schools are pioneering convergence on a grand scale;
3 Because, as this paper will show, they are succeeding in achieving some of their very ambitious aims, but at a price.

Such large claims as the above require substantiation. Legally the nine European Schools are the joint responsibility of the Education Ministers of the twelve sovereign countries which together comprise the European Communities. Located in six of these countries, from England to Italy they are staffed by teachers appointed from these twelve state school systems, administered and financed jointly by or on behalf of the twelve states, along with the Commission of the European Communities, while serving primarily the children of employees of the Community institutions..

Thus far they might seem to resemble some of the many international schools or "Company Schools" elsewhere in Europe or further afield. However the European Schools are explicitly required to work towards achieving the cultural, political and economic integration of these member states as well, on the basis of equality of esteem among them all. This marks them off from the typical International School in which one or at most two, cultural and political orientations will predominate. Serving pupils both coming from and returning to their own school systems, they seek to synthesise and dovetail with curricula from all twelve countries, with their ten major and as many more minor languages, and their individual historical traditions, which were noted as much for enmity as for amity throughout history.

Such an educational hybrid must contain the seeds of many problems, and it was in an attempt to identify and report on their pedagogical problems that the study briefly reported on here was carried out.

The present study

In a debate on the European Schools in 1983, the European Parliament, whose jurisdiction in the matter, though real, is not entirely clear to the writer, passed a resolution calling for a report on all aspects of the European Schools system. The resulting enquiry into their "pedagogical problems" which the writer carried out at the request of the Commission in 1984, led to a report which was adopted and eventually cited as evidence at the Special hearing of a Committee of the Parliament in 1987.

The study was based on documentary information supplied by the Directorate-General of the E.C. for Personnel and Administration; 12 school visits; written and/or oral submissions from the School Directors, Parents' Associations , the Committees of Inspectors, teacher representatives, elected pupil representatives, Ministers for Education, and concerned individuals. A questionnaire was sent, for comparative purposes, to 24 international schools elsewhere in Europe, and further information was supplied by Education Ministries throughout the Member States.

While this paper cannot be exhaustive, it will attempt to convey a few major features of this school system, and to indicate some of their problems and achievements. It should be noted that there were only ten member states at the time of the study - Spain and Portugal have joined since then.

Origin, development and aims

The kindergarten and primary departments of the first European School, that in Luxembourg, were opened in 1953 on the initiative of parents of six different nationalities resident there, who were employees of the European Coal and Steel Community. Further growth followed with the support of the then six member states of the EEC resulting in the passing of the Statute of the European Schools in 1957 and the establishment of the remaining schools thereafter. Table 1 shows their location, year of establishment, and enrolment as of 1 January 1984.

TABLE 1

Year of Establishment	Location	Enrolment in 1984
1954	Luxembourg	2,578
1958	Brussels 1 (Uccle)	2,539
1960	Mol (Belgium0	815
1960	Varese (Italy)	1,298
1962	Karlsruhe (Germany)	979
1963	Bergen (Holland)	643
1975	Brussels 11 (Woluwe)	1,862
1977	Munich (Germany)	515
1978	Culham (England)	588
		11,817

171

The location of each school was determined by the practical need to educate the children of families of the European Communities' institutions, each of which would have a concentration of employees drawn from various member states. The schools originated therefore as a facility for employees, under the aegis of the Directorate General for Personnel and Administration. The fact that they fall under the care of this organ of the EC rather than one with an educational *raison d'etre* gives rise to some tensions between personnel policies and educational needs.

But in addition to the practical task of educating these children, the founders espoused the "European ideal", a statement of which is inscribed inside the foundation stone of each school as follows:

> Educated side by side, untroubled from infancy by divisive prejudices, acquainted with all that is great and good in the different cultures, it will be borne in upon them as they mature that they belong together ... Without ceasing to look to their own lands with love and pride, they will become in mind Europeans, schooled and ready to consolidate the work of their fathers before them to bring into being a united and thriving Europe...

This was indeed a daring educational leap to take, not least in a disunited Europe still emerging from the shadows of World War II. Thus the founders aimed not only to cater for national and cultural differences, but also to enable the school to transcend the arena of the nation-state whose moral and cultural continuity were hitherto its source and service, and to locate it in a higher plane of supra-national consciousness and aspiration. In fact, to cultivate the several national identities under one roof, and at the same time to add to these some sort of single European identity. This ideology remains central to many of the concepts and structures round which the daily life of the pupils and teachers revolves today.

Administrative and curricular features

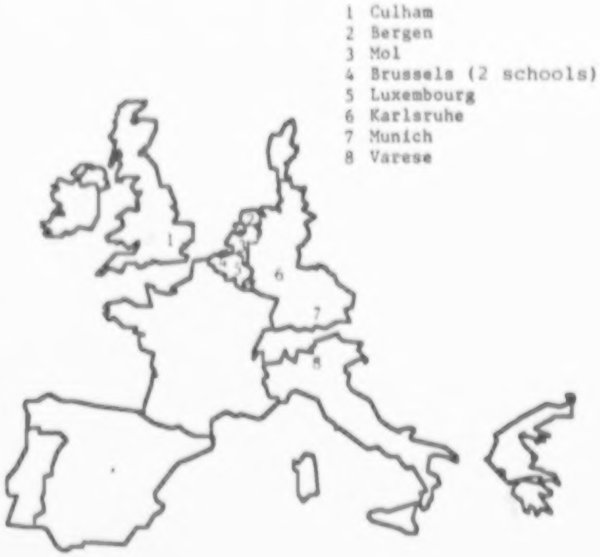
The Board of Governors (Conseil Superieur) is the decision-making body of the European Schools' network. legally this Board is a Council of Ministers of the Communities in the same sense as the Council of Education Ministers of the Communities, but in practice they almost always act through their senior officials, and along with a Permanent Representative, they function through a series of committees. While each school also has its own Administrative Board, which includes representatives of both pupils and parents as well as staff and the school's Director in its deliberations, the network as a whole is very much a unified system rather than a federation of autonomous units. In other words it is rather highly centralised in structure and uniform in function, despite the wide geographical scatter of the schools' locations as illustrated in Figure 1.

As of 1 January 1984 the schools enrolled a total of 11,817 pupils, with the apparently generous overall teacher-pupil ratio of 1:13; the complexity of their organisation and population however may well justify such "over-endowment".

Each school has a kindergarten, a primary and a secondary division. The primary curriculum takes five years, the secondary seven. Based on a careful scrutiny and comparison of national syllabi, a harmonized syllabus has been worked out which seeks to be identical across the several language-sections to which the schools are divided. Identical standards are insisted upon in each section, in the mother tongue, mathematics and second-language learning. The shortage of suitable textbooks owing to the overall smallness of scale of the entire system, has been a perennial problem and mathematics proved to be the only area in which a solution to such problems was reached by the time of this study. Here a set of "modern maths" textbooks, known as "Euromaths" was developed and these were entirely diagrammatic, i.e. devoid of words - owing to the plurality of languages prevalent. While ingenious in concept and successful across a certain range of areas, they could also prove self-defeating to some degree, especially in problem arithmetic.

Figure 1

Location of the European Schools



In geography the syllabus concentrates rightly on the place and country of the school's location, to begin with, and this must challenge those new teachers, the majority, who come from abroad. It can also result in pupils from the smaller or peripheral countries going right through a European School to age 18 or so, and leaving with only the most meagre mastery of the geography of their own country on their return.

While the primary syllabus is relatively similar to those in the home countries, the secondary is structured more on a Continental model into the observation period (3 years), the pre-orientation (2 years) and the orientation period (2 final years). During the observation period all pupils share a common stream, and follow a compulsory core of subjects as follows: mother tongue, basic mathematics, second language, human sciences (history and geography), natural sciences and technology, Latin or graphic arts or music, physical education, religion or ethics and complementary activities (first year only). Clearly this is both a broad and heavily academic syllabus, reflecting the influences of the French *lycee* model in the view of some commentators, but with limited outlets for the less academically able pupil. This causes problems, as does the fact that there is no half-way examination of the Intermediate or Group Certificate kind in the course of the secondary years. For those whose family moves abroad or returns to a home country at such points, this too may give rise to serious difficulties.

The secondary syllabus for the final two years is both broad and balanced; it comprises nine subjects as well as P.E. and Religion or Ethics. Included in the compulsory core here is biology as well as philosophy - the latter subject familiar to the French, German and

Italian systems but not readily warmed to by some Anglo-Saxons! The teaching of history and geography as "human sciences" is interdisciplinary to some degree. However the principle that these be taught by a teacher of different nationality to the pupil is seen as a European principle which will compel the teacher to avoid conscious or unconscious national bias. Thus, say, the English national teaching Napoleon to French pupils for the first time may find himself questioning his own assumptions, or being questioned more acutely by his pupils here than in his home country.

The linguistic complexity of the Schools

A striking feature of the Schools is their linguistic and ethnic complexity. Each school is structured into language-sections, representing in theory the linguistic origins of the pupils. The fact that teachers are recruited by quota from each of the E.C. member states makes it possible to staff each language section with appropriately competent staff, providing at the same time a linkage with the pupil's home culture and schools.

Table 2

Analysis of Language-sections in the Schools, 1983-84

School	Greek	German	English	Danish	French	Italian	Dutch
Luxembourg	40	467	352	188	882	462	283
Brussels 1	155	310	410	244	643	528	261
Mol	-	183	-	-	183	144	313
Varese	-	273	143	-	208	526	158
Bergen	-	127	123	-	97	76	243
Karlsruhe	-	321	69	-	260	281	62
Brussels 11	-	314	363	-	543	327	314
Culham	-	83	284	-	115	61	55
Munich	-	247	121	-	100	4	36
	195	2,325	1,865	432	3,031	2,409	1,725

Table 2 illustrates the range and composition of the various language sections as of 1983-84. Obviously the English-language section includes the Irish, Scots and Welsh, while the French includes Franco-Belge.

This division into language-sections provides a home-base for the pupils, within such a heterogeneous institution. Yet even within some language sections, especially in the larger schools, pupils of much greater diversity of both nationality and levels of fluency in the common language may be found. At one time in the Brussels 1 School there were enrolled children of 52 nationalities speaking among themselves no less than 34 home languages! Even within the same class three or four distinct levels of fluency in the common language can be found; in one extreme case, 14 year old native speakers of Dutch were sitting side by, side with total beginners in the same language.

By the same token of course this linguistic richness becomes an important resource for language acquisition, especially since the pupils tend to mix naturally and make friends outside as well as within their own national groups. Within a remarkably short time they themselves transcend linguistic barriers somehow, with a resulting enrichment of attitudes and a reduction of prejudices.

The "European hour" is another novel feature of these schools. Beginning at Third Grade primary, pupils are regrouped into classes of mixed nationality/or mother tongue, while learning arts, crafts, gymnastics, music etc., exclusively in their *langue vehicularis*. The aim is of course to require the child to practice his second language when equivalent classes of the various language sections come together, and to help transcend existing language barriers. It does however in practice carry the risk that sometimes the teacher will not have any language in common with at least some of his pupils, resulting in such instances in problems of control and little learning.

As he moves through the secondary school years the pupil studies an increasing number of subjects through this *langue vehiculaire*. But the linguistic emphasis does not end even there.

A second foreign language (L11) as a subject of study is added in the second secondary year, and a third one in the fourth and fifth years, while Latin is an option from third year on. It is therefore theoretically possible that a linguistically weak pupil may spend as many as 12 out of 30 weekly lessons in classes which he cannot follow, while "catching up" (*retrappage*) classes themselves may suffer from too diverse a range of pupil standards. Finally, for Irish pupils there is the additional burden of studying the Irish language, which may not be timetabled, although a seven-year programme in it has been developed in the schools.

To sum up then on this aspect of these schools, it can be claimed that their great linguistic richness can confer unique advantages on the pupil. Naturally it is not without its problems, among which the following were identified:

(1) The schools can exist in a "linguistic vacuum", i.e. many of the usual out-of-school reinforcements for learning the mother-tongue may be absent here;
(2) Pupils are sometimes unable to understand their teacher's language, leading to further problems of class control;

(3) There can be too wide a variation in levels of linguistic achievement within a given class;
(4) The teacher has to use a simpler language-register here than he would with the corresponding class in his home country;
(5) The teacher may have qualified to teach his own language only to fellow native-speakers of it but not to teach it as a foreign language (i.e. to non-native speakers);
(6) The second-language requirement causes major problems for the large numbers of late-enrolling pupils whose families move to the vicinity mid-way in their school career. The later the transfer the greater the problem.
(7) The premium placed on learning in and learning through other languages militates against the linguistically weaker pupil who cannot cope. It may also account for some of the problem of pupils dropping out of the schools prematurely or failing and being advised to move elsewhere; 10 to 15 per cent was the estimated figure in the case of one school as a result of a limited survey.

Nevertheless those pupils who can cope do seem to achieve a remarkable degree of fluency in several languages as well as their mother tongue.

The European Baccalaureate

A second distinctive feature of the European Schools is their terminal examination. This is known as the European Baccalaureate, not to be confused with the International Baccalaureate or other examinations sharing that title.

One of the chief aims of the schools is to prepare pupils for entry into the universities and other third-level institutions of the member states; thus, according to Article 5 of the Statute of the European School, holders of the Baccalaureate shall

> have the same rights as nationals with equivalent qualifications to seek admission to any university in the territory of the Contracting Parties.

Thus theoretically and legally the Baccalaureate is guaranteed recognition in each of the EC member countries. By and large, *de facto* recognition has been accorded, though not without some difficulties, in the French Grandes Ecoles, and some British universities, whereas no difficulty was reported in the case of Italian, German, Irish or Dutch Universities nor indeed in the Austrian or Swiss institutions. There are inherent difficulties when one tries to compare the European Baccalaureate which may now comprise nine subjects, with, say, a more narrowly focused examination like GCE A-Levels, not to mention the question of differing cut-off points for passing the same subject as between them.

One illustration of the complexities involved in international recognition of equivalence was the solution attempted by the Department of Education and Science in London which sought to compare the student's *three best* subjects in the European Baccalaureate with the only three taken in A-Levels; indeed in the event it was concluded that holders of the Baccalaureate would be deemed to hold more than the very minimum points required for entrance to British universities, despite the fact of ignoring the large number of additional subjects taken in the Baccalaureate.

In order to qualify for the Baccalaureate award, a pupil must undergo examination in each of the subjects studied in the sixth and seventh secondary years. Pass is awarded only to those whose average mark is 60 per cent across all subjects - the minimum number now is nine, though formerly it was eleven!

The structure of the examination, with corresponding weightings, is as follows:

1	Written examination in 5 subjects as follows: mother-tongue, second language, two optional subjects and either mathematics or a third option	36%
2	Oral examination in 4 subjects viz. mother-tongue, second language, history or geography and an option	24%
3	Internal assessment of all subjects studied in the Seventh year including religion/ethics and physical education by means of	
	(a) internal school examination	25%
	and (b) continuous assessment	15%
		100%

It is noteworthy therefore that the teachers' assessments of the year's work combined with internal written school examinations and oral examinations, account for two-thirds of the available marks. The involvement of both the pupil's teachers and of a large body of external examiners are also interesting features to Irish observers.

Two limited follow-up studies of the subsequent university career of holders of the Baccalaureate were carried out, one of 46 alumni of the Varese School, the other of 19 alumni of four Schools who went on to study in colleges of the National University of Ireland. The general indications were that students had been well prepared for university life as experienced in Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Italy, England and Ireland.

Quite a different approach was taken in a very recent study (Woodman, 1988) which confined itself to a "face value" comparison of the European Baccalaureate with the Irish Leaving Certificate be means of scrutiny of examination papers, subject syllabi and responses to a questionnaire. This study asked a "jury" of experts comprising lecturers in each of seven of the subjects concerned in University College Galway, to compare the two examinations. Differences of emphasis and scope emerged, with strong opinion favouring the EB in some cases and the ILC in others. In the case of English (as mother tongue)the jury felt that a high standard in neither examination constituted an adequate grounds for confidence regarding later University studies. In the remaining subjects however, grounds for confidence were reported to be strong, for varying reasons, that each examination in its own way constituted a good preparation for University studies.

One pedagogy or ten?

While several sources of problems were identified by means of this study, the final area to be dealt with here is the pedagogical. Can such inter-state and inter-cultural schools function pedagogically as a unit, and, if so, how far do they succeed in doing so? Are there identifiable national or cultural differences associated with the different countries of origin of the teachers, or are such differences shed when all enter the same "melting pot" so to speak? This is perhaps the most interesting question to the educationalist wondering whether a convergence of West European educational systems is possible in the future.

Certainly despite the polyglot conversation in staff rooms, colleagues from France, Ireland, Denmark, Italy etc., do seem to have reached a constructive *modus operandi* which makes this complex and cumbersome set of units "fascinating, stimulating, and superbly successful" in the words of one Brussels parent. Nevertheless it was maintained in some submissions that the teachers did have different national teaching styles. Some held that the French style was too "teacher-centred", or that the English were "more strict than the French" - comments which may say as much about the observer as the observed, and from which it would be wrong to generalise. However there was some evidence that whereas the parents and the teachers themselves were more conscious of such national differences, the pupils were more preoccupied with *age* differences among the teachers,i.e. a generation gap between themselves and their older teachers. The latter is of course the kind of comment one might hear from pupils anywhere; perhaps therefore the pupils themselves do come to lose sight of nationality faster than their elders, and do, as the founders hoped, "become in mind Europeans".

Two other comments on pedagogy arise however. First, although this is a heavily bureaucratic network which prefers to spell out official positions as far as possible, no official statement of a preferred pedagogical style to be applied in the schools has been formulated. This is somewhat strange when one realises that each of the member states does explicitly require its teachers to adhere to certain styles of pedagogy, e.g. the democratic, the pupil-centred, etc.

Second, one of the most prominent differences between national school systems emerges in policies on pupil promotion. Thus we find official data, published in such sources as the International Yearbooks of Education, on the percentage of pupils repeating classes from year to year in many countries worldwide.

It was found that this phenomenon persists within the European Schools with clearly different patterns as between their different language-sections; thus the average instance of repeaters over the years 1978 to 1983 was 3.04 per cent in the combined Danish-language sections, as against 8.97 per cent in the French and 8.72 per cent in the Italian language-sections. In fact further study revealed that those sections which were the most selective in the lower grades, still showed the highest failure rate in the Baccalaureate. Was there then any indication of a carry-over of such patterns from the home country of the teacher, to the corresponding language-section in the European Schools? Clearly the geographical correspondence between nationality and language is imperfect. Nevertheless a rank-order coefficient of .76 was found, based on this, admittedly tentative, assumption of correspondence. Now it will be recalled that the teacher's evaluation of the pupil does carry some weight in the Baccalaureate. There would therefore seem to be some *prima facie* evidence to support the view that different national concepts of what counts as success or failure at school, do survive a teacher's moving from Italy to Brussels or from Denmark to Culham for instance. In short tentative evidence emerged that there were ten different *idioms* of education, peculiar to the teachers from the member states of the EC, in operation in these schools. This interesting evidence has implications for the future convergence of these systems that we cannot afford to ignore and certainly suggests a point of departure for further research in Comparative Education.

Summary and conclusion

The European Schools are a separate, self-contained school system, implanted in six sovereign countries, largely set apart from the local system and serving a supra-national entity and ideal. They represent a unique blend of the visionary and the pragmatic.

There are problems of rootlessness, of ideal versus reality, of unity versus plurality, of entry from and re-entry into the wide range of home school systems - though these last named may be considerably less than the problems encountered by the pupil returning from a typical international school abroad.

It must be pointed out that many officials of the European Communities living within reach of a European School have always chosen to send their children elsewhere including local international schools; indeed one study carried out in 1983 found that 60 per cent of such children in Brussels were enrolled in other than a European School. For these reasons, as well as the fact that the children of the "first generation" of European civil servants have now been reaching school-leaving age, almost all the Schools have been experiencing enrolment problems, a matter that has concerned both the Commission and the European Parliament.

Neave (1984) has seen the Schools as constituting a certain contradiction in the area of Community education policy, in that their existence favours one set of migrants (the wealthier), he claims, over the far larger numbers of children of poorer migrant workers in the same countries. This argument which had also been put forward by Mallinson (1980) is however rather weak in that (a) it ignores the very large enrolment of migrant workers' children in some Schools (e.g. Mol, 67 per cent of whose pupils were not of Officials' families but largely of Italian immigrant workers); and (b) it seems to ignore the very sensitive political issues, including cost, that such a massive initiative would surely encounter in the countries concerned - even if it were the business of the EC to undertake it.

Regrettably Neave does not evaluate the European Schools in themselves, or address their unique features as educational institutions. Mallinson does comment on this however, and their significance in building a Europe 'of .. hearts and minds alongside a Europe of the treaties" (p.372). Yet he also relates criticisms to the effect that they are "isolated, elitist and too rigid and formalised" (p. 373). The present study has found evidence that would support such comments.

Halls (1980) also sounds a negative note in finding that 'their critics seem to agree more or less unanimously that these schools have failed ina serious way to provide anything more than a mere academic learning environment when what they need, in fact, is far more than this - especially for expatriate children' (p.208). The writer has to agree that there is much validity in this comment, though in their own slow and bureaucratic way the authorities have begun to redress this imbalance, e.g. by the provision of remedial teaching on a limited scale, and encouraging the development of a counselling service in at least one school. One Irish teacher (McGrath 1982) with seven years' experience in a European School, supports such criticisms, but is not entirely convincing in so far as her comparison seems to be with some of the best rather than the general run of schools in Ireland. Nevertheless she is generous enough to acknowledge the "gigantic task' confronting them. She sees them as a worthwhile experiment and finds that "national differences and prejudices evaporated" while "tolerance and trust, acceptance and agreement (were) fostered (in them)".

The schools are academically successful however, some say superbly so, for many of their pupils. But this is gained at a price, particularly that which is paid in the disquietingly large numbers who drop out or are asked to leave. Their greatest success lies in their cultural and especially linguistic achievements. They have also been accused of replacing national nationalisms with a European nationalism, i.e. of concentrating so exclusively on Europe itself that they overlook its world-wide responsibilities. Whether this is true or not, they do seem to succeed in creating a European layer of identity in many of their pupils while also sending them forth well equipped to enter universities at home in Europe and elsewhere. In the pursuit of these forms of excellence they do succeed. Out of the polyglot tower of Babel then, there is emerging a brave new world.

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PLANNING FOR AN UNCERTAIN FUTURE

Tom Power

INTRODUCTION

Before the Association's 11th Conference the decision to close Carysfort College was announced. Between the 12th and 13th Conferences the Health Education Bureau, the Agricultural Institute, the National Board for Science and Technology, the Institute for Industrial Research and Standards, ANCO (the National Training Organisation), some Vocational Education Committees, several hospitals and many other publicly funded bodies had been selected for closure or amalgamation.

Few organisations depending on state funds can have felt certain about their futures in these conditions. If it is correct to assume that most people like to feel in control of what is happening to them, how are they likely to act in response to an increase in uncertainty? It may be that such a state is unwelcome and leads individuals and groups to adopt strategies for reducing uncertainty and increasing control. Institutions that wish to survive may pursue those courses of action which improve their capacity to recognise and respond to external signals. One of the effects in Thomond was the mobilisation of College-wide support in the preparation of its first Corporate Plan. The first draft of this paper was an attempt to provide a context for that Plan. The present version is a revision and extension of the *original.

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THE COLLEGE

Thomond College, formerly the National College of Physical Education, has been established by statute to prepare teachers primarily for the non-selective second-level system. At present there are over 700 students registered, over 90 per cent of them on four year pre-service concurrent degree programmes and one postgraduate diploma, validated by the National Council for Educational Awards. There are just over 60 academic staff and about the same number of technical, administrative and other support staff. The College is now in its sixteenth year of operation. It is designated to the Higher Education Authority (H.E.A.), which has wide ranging statutory responsibilities for education at third level, including the maintenance of a continuous review of the demand and need for higher education, the allocation of state grants to universities and designated institutions, the promotion of the attainment of equality of opportunity in higher education and the democratisation of its structures.

INTERPRETING THE EXTERNAL ENVIRONMENT

I referred in my introduction to the uncertainty created in publicly funded bodies during 1987. I would like to illustrate some of the sources of uncertainty for third-level colleges more fully in this section.

At the start of the 1987 academic year the most immediate challenge derived from contraction of staff and finance. As a result of the budget in March the recurrent grant to the HEA was reduced by £2.65m and the filling of vacancies was brought under the control of the Minister for Finance. These announcements caused great concern in the university world and beyond. The decision of staffing, in particular, struck at the root of established practice by which universities made individual appointments, and was a direct challenge to the principle of autonomy in academic matters. The HEA and the heads of the colleges felt that "its implication in the form set out could lead to such a chaotic and impossible situation as to endanger the satisfactory administration of the functions of the colleges" [HEA 1987a)]. Three months later, in June 1987, following discussions between the Minister for Education, the HEA and the Committee of Heads of University Institutions, an alternative procedure was announced. Control over appointments was restored to the Colleges but reductions were required in the pay bill of the HEA sector of 1 per cent in 1987 and 3 per cent in 1988, with corresponding reductions in staff numbers of 3 per cent in 1987 and 3 per cent in 1988.

While this alternative restored the autonomy of the colleges in staffing matter, the financial screw tightened in 1988, the reduction in the pay budget being raised to 5.5 per cent.

The financial constraints of 1987 were different in degree but not in kind from those of recent years. Net current expenditure on third-level education declined both in real terms and as a percentage of the total after 1982. (NESC 1986, p. 65).

Over the same period tuition fees have increased more rapidly than the general price level (Ibid. p. 221) and in its most recent report, the HEA once again expressed its apprehension that the continuation of annual increases in tuition fees was likely to affect adversely the socio-economic pattern of enrolment (HEA 1987 (b)).

At present there is general recognition of the need for restraint in public expenditure. The principal indicators of social and economic wellbeing which had been a cause for concern during the first half of the eighties, deteriorated seriously in the second half (NESC 1986).

Adverse economic conditions, however, come in cycles. Already there are predictions that the worst is over. It is possible too, to identify factors other than economic, which have had destabilising effects in other countries which do not apply in the Irish Republic. Unfavourable demographic trends, together with a marked shift in the esteem in which higher education is held by the public at large have led to expectations of declining enrolments in other countries. Both of these factors are perceived as favourable to the increase in demand for third-level places by Irish applicants at least until the end of the 1990s. It can be difficult to resist the temptation to regard the present bleak conditions as temporary, and likely to improve. There are a number of reasons, however, for suggesting that this may be unduly optimistic.

First, any short term improvements in the economy are unlikely to be followed by undifferentiated increases in public funding of colleges. This assessment is not based only on the evidence of the present consensus on economic matters between government and opposition, extraordinary though that is. A more stable and convincing basis can be found in Report No. 83 of the National Economic and Social Council (1986). The NESC includes in its membership nominees of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions. The Confederation of Irish Industry, the Irish Employers Confederation, the National Youth Council of Ireland, agricultural organisations and two very senior civil servants. In a comprehensive review of prospects for the medium term the Council stresses the importance of an integrated strategy directed at confronting the "grave ... economic and social problems" (ibid., p. 320). Its discussion of education policy is set within a framework of political and economic criteria for resource allocation to the broad social sector. Within this framework not only will education be in competition for resources with health and social security but each of the three levels will compete with the other. Five criteria are proposed for implementation of this policy.

Firstly, financial: the necessity to correct the public finances; Secondly, efficiency; Thirdly, redistribution of resources between income groups and household types; Fourthly, considerations of minimum standards in relation to the adequacy of resource provision; Finally, the employment content of social services (Ibid., pp. 199-200).

Applying these principles to education policy the Council acknowledges "that education contributes positively to economic performance through its investment in human capital" and concludes that resources should be "increasingly devoted to the sectors of education which more directly bear on the growth and development of the economy" (Ibid., p. 218). It identifies a number of inequities in the present system principally the marked social differentiation in participation and the disparity between the participation of men and women, and concludes with the recommendation that there should be a review of the financing of third-level education.

A study (Barlow 1981) of the financing of third-level education published five years earlier had drawn attention to the extraordinary growth in provision in less than a generation. Between 1960 and 1980 total current expenditure at third level, measured at constant prices, rose ten fold from £9.6m to £98m. This reflected a doubling both of enrolment and of expenditure per student in real terms.

An assessment of this expenditure against the NESC criteria might draw one positive conclusion: a substantial part of the rise in cost is attributable to the rise in the share of the technological sector (Ibid., p. 10) which is popularly perceived as adding to the stock of human capital likely to contribute to productive investment. There are at least three features however which give cause for some anxiety.

1. Substantial private benefit in the form of higher lifetime earnings is expected to accrue to individuals the longer their participation in the formal system. The groups who gain most from this are middle-class males who are disproportionately represented at third-level.

2. A second closely related feature is that the proportion of university income represented by tuition fees decreased from 35 per cent in 1961/2 to not more than 13 per cent 18 years later. Government initiatives in recent years have raised this proportion to 29 per cent in the university colleges.

3. Subsidies to the institutions impair their efficiency in a number of respects: by generating excessive demand for places, especially in courses leading to high life-time earnings, by reducing pressures for the technical and management efficiency of colleges, and

by failing to encourage concern for the customers (Ibid., p. 5).

It is no surprise then to find that Barlow's study, reflecting for third-level some of the issues raised a few years earlier by Tussing (1978), and more recently by Hannan, Breen et al (1983) in relation to second-level, have been followed by calls for greater efficiency, productivity and equity from the higher education system from successive Ministers for Education.

Financial contraction and a more utilitarian approach to education accompanying economic recession are by no means confined to this country. Contraction in the level of funding of higher education has been a common experience in much wealthier countries across Europe, North America, Australia and New Zealand. Typically planning systems have been disrupted and resource allocation systems have become unstable.

Second, the level of applicant demand may peak at a much earlier stage than expected. The 1986 Census reported a considerably lower level of population growth from an annual average of 1.5 per cent in 1971-81 to 0.5 per cent in 1981-86. A recent projection (DKM 1987) of demographic trends has predicted a decline in the age cohorts of third-level students from the late 80s as well as those likely to enter second level from the mid 90s.

In addition, an important new source of supply of third level places is developing. The influence of EC policy on admission regulations has opened up the possibility for Irish applicants of tuition free places at universities and polytechnics in the UK. It is believed that the number admitted in 1987 in the first full year in which this opportunity was offered amounted to the full annual intake of a medium sized Irish university.

There can be little doubt if current conditions hold that this number will increase as relationships are established between Leaving Certificate grades and 'A' levels, on the one hand, and as the quality of resource provision in British universities is more widely appreciated by Irish applicants and their parents on the other. Here are two examples which illustrate the differences in resource provision: In his address to the 1987 graduating class the President of NIHE Limerick said "For every £1 that Derek Birley receives at the University of Ulster, I get 50p". In a similar vein, the Provost of Trinity College demonstrated that the University of Southampton receives twice as much per student from public funds as Trinity does (Watts 1985). Such evidence, of course, illustrates the cost effectiveness of the system, or drip-feed resourcing.

Third, high public esteem for higher education cannot be taken for granted. In many OECD member countries where public opinion has declined this may reflect perceptions of the general public that colleges and universities do not contribute as much as they could to the solution of problems of the communities in which they are located. Alternatively it may represent a judgement by the graduates, now a significant proportion of total population, on the quality of the education they received. (OECD 1983).

In Britain the contrast between the disillusion of the 1980s and the enthusiasm of the post-Robbins era is stark and alarming. The severe financial constraint which universities there have suffered in recent years is linked convincingly by two observers (Pratt, et al 1985) to serious decline in the esteem in which these institutions are held across all shades of political opinion. John Pratt and Geoffrey Lockwood write: "... perhaps the most obvious effect of the lack of public confidence is simply the extent to which university funds have been reduced overall. Cuts of this order could not have been made if the universities had had the public support they achieved in the 1960s". (Ibid., p. 10). Public opinion of the higher education system in general and of individual institutions in particular may be crucially important determinants of government decisions about the future.

So far the factors considered apply across the entire Irish third-level system. While all of these will make their impact on every College there are a number of other factors which apply specifically to teacher education institutions.

(i) The number of permanent teaching posts in Irish second-level schools have been contracting during the 1980s. The combined effects of government policy aimed at reducing the number of teaching jobs, merging schools and increasing the pupil teacher ratio together with agreements with trade unions to redeploy surplus teachers, and the prospect of a declining second-level school population from 1991 suggest that the late '80s and '90s may show high numbers of unemployed graduates. The stance of the Department of Education and Science in England in relation to granting qualified teacher status to holders of Irish qualifications indicates that emigration may not be a solution.

(ii) All teacher education institutions, are likely to experience similar effects. Serious contraction in the labour market demand is likely to be followed by a depression in applicant demand. In these circumstances where provision overlaps or is duplicated the justification of public funding is bound to be in question.

(iii) The funding of in-service education for teachers which does not reflect serious state commitment is unlikely to improve under the economic and financial conditions outlined earlier, despite the clearest evidence of need from leaders of curriculum renewal. A report of a Teacher Education Colloquium held in Galway last March (NiCheallaigh et al, 1987) set out concisely some serious gaps between pre-service teacher education programmes and the current needs of pupils in second-level schools and had identified important in-service needs, which are unlikely to be met by a substantial net addition to resources.

(iv) In the interest of achieving greater efficiency, the relatively high unit costs of small monotechnics may lead to consideration of merging with institutions in order to achieve economies of scale.

PLANNING

By referring above to the first Corporate Plan I do not intend to suggest that there were no plans before this. Any institution that prepares for the future is engaged in planning. Colleges do so when a new course is prepared or the annual budget drawn up. But these activities are sometimes carried out by different groups who have very little contact with each other. There is now a considerable literature on planning, much of it critical of an absence of proper planning or of failure to implement sound plans properly. At national level critics (Mulvihill and Conroy 1983) have identified a failure to articulate explicit, realistic and mutually consistent goals to a number of factors. Among those identified are:

1. the dominance of clientism in contemporary Irish politics which promotes short term considerations to a high priority in the preoccupations of the average public representative;
2. the lack of suitable structures in institutions of state for coping with change;
3. the unprecedented rapidity of social and economic change.

Observers of planning in higher education (Pratt et al, 1985) have described the dominant mode of corporate planning practised prior to the 1980s as 'muddling through' or 'incrementalism' typified by decisions taken by partisan groups bargaining over immediately available resources and priorities using statistics as political rather than rational instruments.

Adams provides a list of misconceptions of planning:

> Planning should never be considered: a technique to obtain approval for decisions already made, a once every four or five years project, a part-time job, something that occurs only when a new building may be necessary, a process that proceeds from an organisational community vacuum, an activity involving top administrative staff only, a (n)... institutional relations gimmick, a program limited to finances or architecture, a guarantee that everything will proceed according to a set pattern, or a process that is easy or cheap (1977, p. 456).

The designers of the Corporate Plan set out to avoid these pitfalls. The concept of planning may be illustrated further by the definition that was adopted and by listing some of the benefits that were expected to be achieved. The definition that was adopted emphasises planning as a process involving all interests and all activities. "Planning is the continuous and collective exercise of foresight in the integrated process of taking informed decisions about the future" (Lockwood, 1985).

Some of the benefits that were expected to be achieved were as follows:

1. Establish and maintain a high degree of control over the future of the College.
2. Mobilise College-wide effort and support.
3. Stimulate confidence and morale.
4. Provide a rationale and framework within which to incorporate College-wide activity.
5. Obtain better evaluation of performance and a sound basis for judging internal and external pressures.

(Adapted from Mulvihill and Conroy, 1985)

If these goals were to be realised it was clear that commitment from the entire College community would be required.

The first formal step in the process of preparing a plan was taken when a Standing Committee of the Academic Council appointed a sub-committee of five heads of department to provide a framework for a Corporate Plan. Arising from a report from this group a timetable was drawn up and three sub-committees were appointed to consider the following issues:

(i) The future of an unchanged and unchanging Thomond;
(ii) Diversification possibilities and opportunities;

(iii) The place of the College within a restructured third-level system.

The chairman of these sub-committees invited submissions from all members of staff and prepared reports which were presented to a plenary meeting of academic and non-academic staff in accordance with the original timetable. That meeting reached four conclusions which may be summarised as follows:

1. It is unlikely that the College will be allowed maintain its present level of output from its initial teacher training courses. The College therefore, if it continues to perform its present functions only, cannot maintain its present level of activity nor its present complement of staff.
2. If Thomond is to continue to maintain its staff and remain a viable institution of higher education, then it must diversify into new areas. These areas may include new courses in undergraduate teacher education, INSET and retraining of existing teachers, and courses in areas outside teacher education but whose knowledge base is closely related to existing College programmes.
3. The College should ensure that its Corporate Plan takes account of the possibility that any of a number of new institutional frameworks may be created within which Thomond might have to work. The Plan should aim to make the College adaptable and fit to derive the maximum benefits possible from whichever inter-institutional context there may finally ensue.
4. Since the Corporate Plan is in fact a survival plan, it is considered prudent that the College identify and avowedly pursue survival criteria such as have been applied in other European countries. These include relevance, cost-effectiveness and excellence. Such qualities should be given deliberate prominence in our plan.

The third step involved the preparation of an Interim Statement of a Corporate Plan for 1988 to 1993 under the following headings (Lockwood and Davies, 1985).

(i) College Mission and Purpose

Based on the analysis and conclusions of the preceding stage the critical tasks which needed to be performed effectively in order to sustain the vitality and effectiveness of the College were re-considered. This required a statement of mission - by which is meant the expectations which society expressed for the College in its founding statute - and a statement of goals or aims i.e. the terms used to refer to the purposes developed by the groups or individuals which comprise the College. The re-consideration produced a statement giving more weight to the in-service role, to diversification of course provision and greater emphasis to inter-institutional cooperation.

(ii) Basic Concepts

The statement of mission was followed by the identification of basic guiding concepts which followed in part the consideration of the external environment and in part from the plenary session mentioned above. These amounted to six:

- relevance
- excellence
- cost-effectiveness
- diversification
- institutional flexibility
- institutional reputation

which were intended to be a foundation for all College activity, whatever the time scale.

(iii) Strategies

The next stage involved the selection of strategies which focused on activities such as

- fully developing the in-service brief

- facilitating staff development
- developing and strengthening links with other institutions of higher education
- easing external pressure on existing programmes

which would apply throughout the six year period.

(iv) Operational Goals

A fourth level set out the operational goals applicable to a shorter time scale and specified more precisely the implications of the strategies, e.g.

(a) reviewing existing programmes
(b) reducing class contact hours
(c) redeploying staff and introducing other changes in work practices (e.g. providing courses in the evenings
(d) introducing modular degree structures

The fourth step (the final one so far) involved processing the Interim Statement through the Academic Council (which was extended to a committee consisting of the representative group that had attended the first plenary session) and the Governing Body. This has just been completed without major difficulty. Agreement has been reached on strategies which could change the shape of the College in a gradual process over the next six years. The principles of staff development and redeployment and of the need to prepare for participation in the re-structuring of higher education that has been signalled for some years now, has been accepted. The process of an institution learning to change, in harmony with its external environment, has begun.

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LISTENING TO PROBATIONERS

John D'Arcy

1. Introduction

This paper reports recent evidence from a study which has considered the experiences of beginning teachers in their first two years of teaching. In particular, the investigation sought to compare the experiences of those who had gained permanent posts with those who entered teaching through temporary posts - a mode of entry which, since the beginning of the 1980s, has become the experience of up to half of each year's output of new teachers in Northern Ireland. This paper reports the experiences and perceptions of new teachers on such issues as their teaching difficulties and induction into the profession.

1.1. Previous studies of first year teachers

Several investigations have concentrated on the behavioural aspects of transition from initial training to teaching. In one such study, by Kremer-Hayan (1987), the author remarked that the transition from college to teaching seemed to be more abrupt and less gradual than that experienced in other professions. For example, the young doctor, engineer or lawyer can consult his or her seniors on the spot before making decisions whereas the young teacher has to make decisions there and then, in sometimes very complex situations. Furthermore, Corcoran (1981) has described the process of transition which the new teacher faces as 'Transition or Reality Shock'.

Other well-known studies have concentrated on the first year teacher in school. For example, Taylor and Dale (1971) reported the findings of a survey of teachers in their first year of service in England and Wales during 1966-67 and, more recently The New Teacher in Schools was produced by Her Majesty's inspectorate (1982). The HMI study, among other things, sought to assess how well new teachers were equipped for the work they were assigned in their first post and the extent to which support was provided when it was needed.

A further group of studies has looked at the search for, and the degree of success in obtaining, teaching appointments. Cook (1985), in a survey of recently-qualified teachers in two parts of England, found that teachers tended to look for schools within particular geographical regions rather than for employment in schools of a particular type. In a later study Cook(1987) found that graduates who had reduced their geographical horizons and restricted their search to particular school sectors took longer to find employment.

Within Northern Ireland, NICER has carried out an annual employment survey of newly-qualified teachers since 1978. The most noticeable trends over this period have been the steadily decreasing number of new teachers being trained and a progressive shift from permanent to temporary employment for large numbers of teachers entering the profession (Wilson, 1984). The number of teachers qualifying from the teacher training institutions in Northern Ireland dropped from 1058 in 1978, when the NICER survey began, to 590 in 1986. Over the period 1978-84 the ratio of permanent to non-permanent posts decreased from approximately 3:1 to 1:1 and has remained at that level since, as shown in Table 1 which is taken from D'arcy (1987).

207

Table 1: Summary of training and employment trends between 1978 and 1986

Qualifying Year	Number of newly-Qualified	Number entering teaching	Type of employment Permanent %	 Non-Permanent %
1978	1058	810	75	25
1979	970	729	72	28
1980	1051	665	62	38
1981	806	470	58	42
1982	805	466	55	45
1983	689	488	52	48
1984	556	439	51	49
1985	551	418	56	44
1986	590	417	54	46

1.2 Background to the present study

The increasing trend for new teachers to enter teaching on a non-permanent basis poses serious questions for teacher-trainers and policy-makers with regard to those teachers who enter the profession in this way. For example, how are such teachers employed beyond their first 'temporary' year? After one or more temporary posts in their first year, do such teachers obtain permanent employment? How is their induction to the profession affected by non-permanent teaching posts?

These questions led NICER to carry out the First Years of Teaching Project. From its outset the project was collaborative. It enjoyed the support, co-operation and participation of the teacher training institutions, the Advisory Committee on Teacher Education and the Inter-Board Co-Ordinating Group on Induction.

The project consisted of a series of enquiries among the 1985 cohort of newly-qualified teachers in its first and second years of teaching. The investigation began in March 1986, when all of the 551 teachers were contacted at their last known address and asked to complete a detailed questionnaire. It reviewed employment status and sought information from those in teaching posts on their work loads, teaching and non-teaching time, difficulties or problems encountered in teaching, induction arrangements within and outside the school and contacts with initial training and inservice personnel.

The questionnaire was completed by 318 (58 per cent) of those who graduated as teachers in 1985. While such a response rate is on the low side, it has to be remembered that respondents were asked to complete a questionnaire that dealt in considerable detail with a number of issues which would have been unfamiliar to the unemployed teacher. It is therefore more realistic to note that the 52 per cent of the cohort who responded as permanently or temporarily employed teachers in the latter half of 1985-86 represents 69 per cent of that portion of the cohort which was employed in teaching in the first half of the 1985-86 school year.

The first questionnaire was followed by a series of visits to ten schools in which probationers, principals and 'teacher-tutors' were interviewed. These schools were selected to include a representative sample of schools from the primary, secondary and grammar sectors, from urban and rural locations and from different school sizes.

The project's final investigative stage took place when the cohort was contacted during the first term of its second year in teaching. The aim at this stage was to update the employment information, particularly of those teachers who had been temporarily employed, and to ask the teachers to reflect on their first year in teaching. A questionnaire was completed by 369 (67 per cent) of the teachers who had qualified in 1985. The higher level of response to the second questionnaire may be attributed to the fact that it sought information on fewer aspects of the cohort's teaching experience and thus may have been more easily and quickly completed than the first questionnaire.

2. Some findings

The focus of this paper is on probationers' perceptions of their first year teaching and this will be approached by considering probationers comments from questionnaire answers and interviews. A more detailed report on this work has recently been published by NICER (D'Arcy, 1988). However, before looking in some detail at what probationers had to say about their first year experiences of teaching and their induction into the profession it is essential that some background information be given about the teachers in question.

2.1 Employment experiences among the newly-qualified

In terms of employment conditions, it was found that 54 per cent of those in teaching had permanent posts while the remaining 46 per cent were in temporary employment. However, because this study was over a greater time period than the normal NICER employment survey, different levels of temporary employment were identified.

A group of stably temporary teachers, that is, probationers who were employed in one school for two terms or more, was identified. This group consisted of

47 probationary teachers. The remaining temporary teachers were found to have been employed in more than one school or to have had less than two terms' teaching experience. This group was termed the variably temporary. Such a classification provided a breakdown of the permanent, 47 stably and 84 variably temporary teachers.

The second year questionnaire sent to probationers during the first term of their second year in teaching sought to update the employment data - in particular to look at the extent to which those in temporary employment had progressed into permanent posts. In terms of the overall balance of employment, it was found that 70 per cent of respondents were in permanent posts, thereby indicating that there had been some movement from temporary to permanent positions. On closer examination it was found that those temporary teachers who had obtained permanent posts came largely from the stably temporary group. The variably temporary teachers tended to remain in the pool of those seeking teaching employment where and when it could be found.

With this employment background in mind, the paper looks at the experiences and perceptions of probationers and compares those who entered teaching on a permanent basis with those employed on a stably or variably temporary basis.

2.2. Probationers' difficulties

The interest of practitioners in the difficulties facing probationers should at best lead to a situation where such difficulties can be eased or avoided. With this in mind, the probationers were asked to identify areas of teaching which had caused them difficulty. When they were asked to rate the frequency with which different aspects of teaching had troubled them during their first year, the most frequently mentioned was that of teaching low-achievers. This difficulty was reported by 83 per cent of the primary and 72 per cent of the secondary probationers, whereas only 51 per cent of the first year teachers in grammar schools listed it.

Classroom control, including discipline, and classroom organisation were mentioned by some three-quarters of those in secondary schools, but less frequently by those in primary and grammar schools. Difficulties of classroom organisation, in particular that of arranging the class for group work, were commented on most often by the primary teachers (77 per cent).

Over half of the first year teachers stated that the management of time was a frequent problem. This appeared to be common across all school types and employment situations, although slightly more permanent teachers (55 per cent) mentioned it than did their non-permanent colleagues (50 per cent).

2.2. Problems specifically faced by temporary probationers

Those first year teachers who were in or had experienced temporary employment were asked to list any additional difficulties they had experienced as a result of being temporarily employed. Some comments are presented below:

Feeling that they were not proper teachers

> My experience of teaching since qualifying has not amounted to much. I have only had one long spell in a school, the rest has been more like child-minding than teaching.

> The main problem that non-permanent probationers face is having to be prepared to teach anything. I am often asked to teach subjects unrelated to my training. This involves so much extra preparation as well as courage to get up and teach something you are not trained in.

Not in control of what they were teaching

> Being employed as a substitute teacher means that I have yet to manage a class on my own terms as I usually have to follow another teacher's schemes of work. Teaching for me will only begin when I have a full-time job or temporary post of long enough duration to permit me the freedom to work with a class or classes on a regular basis.
>
> There is very little job satisfaction in substitute teaching as I rarely have any opportunity to teach my own subject.

Insecurity about their job

> As a teacher on a one-year contract I can anticipate the problem of lack of maintaining motivation, for myself and for the pupils, through to the end of the summer term, since the work we are doing may not be continued next year.
>
> The emotional strain of an insecure future, especially the uncertainty as to how long it will take to complete the probationary year and the prospect of competing with a fresh wave of newly-trained teachers. The constant pressure to maintain peak performance in order to stay in a school's supply pool.

Unease about their treatment by employers

> It is difficult to attend induction courses. If you are filling in for an absent teacher you do not wish to upset the classes any further by taking days off. Furthermore, by attending these courses you may miss the opportunity of work which might lead to something more permanent. Anyway, it is

very difficult to get details of the courses in the first place.

There is insufficient guidance for temporary probationary teachers. For example, essential information such as the periods needed to fulfil the probationary requirements, the format and amount of detail needed in recording of teaching notes and the preparation of notes for scrutiny by an inspector.

2.3. Probationers' views on training and staff development

The probationers were asked to outline their experiences and perceptions of their training for teaching. Opinions were sought on their initial training, their induction and their views on further inservice training.

Initial training

Having recently completed training, the teachers were asked to comment on how useful they perceived these courses to have been during the first year of teaching. Not surprisingly, the most common aspect of initial training identified as useful was the teaching practice (or school experience) component. Also high on the probationers' lists were courses in their particular subject (or age-range) speciality.

Those aspects of their initial training which they felt had been least useful included the philosophy and history of education, psychology and sociology. Furthermore, some three-quarters of all respondents felt that there had been aspects of teaching for which they had been inadequately prepared. Discipline was cited most often, followed by what more experienced teachers would recognise as routine administrative tasks such as taking the roll and collecting dinner money. Teaching core subjects such as mathematics and reading, the day-to-day planning of the curriculum, teaching mixed-ability classes and teaching examination classes were also reported.

Induction

In the year when this group of probationers entered teaching induction schemes were also introduced by the Education and Library Boards. Within these schemes it was recommended that primary teachers should have 15 days' release to allow them to take part in activities organised by their Board and that post-primary teachers have six days' release in addition to a suggested reduction in their timetables of approximately three periods per week. Teachers from both sectors typically spent two or three days on general induction courses. These were followed by a series of three subject-specific days for post-primary teachers, while primary probationers attended courses with a broader curriculum base.

When asked about the usefulness of the externally provided induction courses, probationers were very positive. However, it was found that probationers in permanent posts were more likely to have participated in external induction courses and the variably temporary probationers, in particular, were at a considerable disadvantage in obtaining access to such support. More detailed information on the relationship between employment conditions and induction opportunities is to be found in a paper by Wilson and D'Arcy (1987).

Within the schools, practice with regard to induction ranged from schools in which probationers had weekly meetings with a 'teacher-tutor' and additional non-teaching time, to schools in which the new teacher was

215

treated as another member of staff. Moreover, it was consistently found that temporary probationers were not involved in any induction procedures within the school.

Further staff development

One-in-five of all respondents was aware that further inservice work had been planned on their behalf. These tended to be probationers in permanent posts. Since the most frequently mentioned form of inservice training concerned the introduction of General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE) courses, it was not surprising to find that more probationers in the post-primary sector had their inservice work mapped out. One in every six of those anticipating inservice work stated that they were to take part in induction activities which they had missed during their first year of teaching.

Over two-thirds of all respondents felt that they would benefit from further inservice work. The most common request was for training within their own specialism, whether subject-based for post-primary teachers or on aspects of primary teaching such as art, music and language development for primary teachers.

3. Summary and conclusions

There were clear differences in the employment conditions of this group of new teachers. These ranged from those in secure appointments to those who had a few days' teaching in several schools. These differences in employment status also have a bearing on the degree and extent of access to staff development activities, particularly in terms of attendance at the external induction courses but also in the manner in which staff were involved in staff development and curriculum development activities in the school. The comments on the induction programmes stress that they were useful and helpful to the young teachers who participated. Given their perceived benefits it was disappointing to find that not all new teachers had the benefit of such provision.

The difficulties listed by probationers were concerned with practical aspects of teaching and the external induction courses attempted to address these issues by involving experienced teachers in the courses. However, that practice has become increasingly more difficult for the programme organisers because of the new conditions of service (DENI, 1987), which have made it more difficult for teachers to be released to take part in such programmes. The problems illustrated by quotation from the temporary probationers are symptomatic of the employment situation and should be of concern to those involved in teacher education and indeed the education system as a whole.

The findings that probationers viewed courses in the philosophy and history of education, psychology and sociology as least useful during their first year of teaching have implications, not so much for the place of such courses within initial training, as for the manner in which such topics are approached. Probationers may perceive such training as not useful because it is not presented in an applied, 'real-life' way. Thus, without the necessary teaching experience to cement the relationship between theory and practice, they cannot see the relevance such topics have for teaching.

The evidence has also highlighted imbalances in the teaching experiences and induction opportunities encountered by new teachers in their first years of teaching. In the light of this evidence, the current procedures for beginning teachers must be critically questioned and alternative arrangements for the probationary year considered. Suggestions such as that of the 'Houseman Year' as described in the Wallace Report, *Professional Studies and Professional Development in Teacher Training in Northern Ireland* (DENI, 1983), merit further consideration. Its recommendations, which included that of a guaranteed year of employment in teaching, match several of the difficulties reported by new teachers and its model includes support for schools, whose role in the induction process should not be underestimated. While further discussion is needed with regard to the feasibiltiy of introducing a scheme such as the 'Houseman Year', immediate action should be taken on the availability and scope of induction and support for all probationary teachers, whether permanently or temporarily employed.

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Irish Educational Studies, Vol.8, No.1, 1989

INTEGRATION IN OMAGH: VIEWS IN A SPECIAL SCHOOL AND AN FE COLLEGE

Connie McKernan and Ian Wells

1. KINDS OF INTEGRATION

The Warnock report (1978) suggested that, as far as possible, children with special needs should be educated in their local primary and secondary schools. Warnock distinguished three kinds of integration which were

> locational, where children with special needs are educated on the same school site but in separate units, having little contact with one another,
>
> social, where there is contact at mealtimes, play periods and during out-of-school activities, but where teaching remains separate,
>
> functional, where classes and other activities are shared.

Other researchers, for example Cope and Anderson (1977), have suggested that true integration only occurs when the handicapped child is accepted by other pupils and actually takes part to a substantial degree in the social and academic aspects of the classroom.

The Omagh situation is an example of what Warnock calls functional integration. It entails the children from a school for children with moderate learning difficulties travelling to the college on foot or public transport and joining pupils from six secondary schools for all class and social activities.

The course on which they are enrolled was planned under the requirements of the Certificate for Pre-

Vocational Education. The CPVE framework was considered suitable for the slow-learning pupils for several reasons. It permitted the development of topics which could be studied at different levels of difficulty, it enabled each pupil to negotiate his or her work programme with the teachers, and it was heavily oriented towards practical subjects and preparation for the world of work. The special-school pupils were therefore enabled to work alongside the other students for the more theoretical subjects and, for the practical topics, to join them in the option groups. CPVE was oriented towards team teaching and it determined the work which was presented in the college and each of the schools. As the course progressed and as we shall see in this paper, Cope's requirement that integration is put into practice was fulfilled to a large extent.

2. TEACHERS' NEEDS

The skills and attitudes of teachers are critical to the success of integration (Gickling et al, 1979). Evidence from several studies suggests however that only a small percentage of educators outside of special education feel they possess the necessary skills to teach handicapped students (Flynn et al, 1978, Gickling and Theobold, 1975). A recent NICER study by John D'Arcy also suggests that teachers in their first year of service find teaching slow learners the most difficult aspect of their work (D'Arcy, 1988). If integration is to be successful, therefore, inservice training should be provided which gives information and contact with the handicapped.

Perhaps half of the Omagh College staff had worked with the handicapped previously. Many were worried about their ability to teach the Heatherbank students and about the possibility of their management problems being increased as a result of having those students in their class. The sort of disadvantages mentioned by teachers included

(1) Lack of training
(2) Adapting to a lower academic level
(3) Lack of resources
(4) Lack of information about individual students and their disabilities
(5) Increase in stress/demands on staff.

No special training was provided for staff involved in teaching the Heatherbank students and they had little or no background information about these students. Full time staff were, however, provided with both in-house and residential training for CPVE. This training was provided by the college and the Board and involved explaining the philosophy and mechanics of CPVE to participating staff. It included a three day residential course and a one day conference at the College, together with much preparation during the first year of the course.

3. PUPILS' NEEDS

Special and ordinary schools differ in the sort of teaching strategies they use, in behavioural expectations, physical design and in the degree of individual attention given to pupils (Hundert, 1982). If the transition from special to ordinary school is to be successful, the handicapped pupil needs to be prepared to meet the academic and behavioural demands of the new situation.

Special school pupils receive a lot of individual attention and, before transfer, they may need to be weaned off frequent, individual teacher attention and trained to perform under normal classroom conditions

(Hundert, 1982). For example, if the student is going to have to take notes, then school staff should prepare them for this by training them to take notes in their own classroom setting.

The Heatherbank students all had a low reading age and they all disliked written work and found it difficult. This was also the aspect of work which caused other students most worry. It was this aspect of their work which distinguished Heatherbank from other students. According to some college teachers, the Heatherbank students needed more time than others. Staff reported no difference between the practical work of Heatherbank and other students and, in some cases, the work of the Heatherbank students was better than that of other students.

CPVE suits the Heatherbank students because it can be implemented as a very practical, work-oriented course. Students are able to sample a variety of skills and learn to work together in teams on various projects. For example, the Heatherbank students were involved in organizing the college's fete for the Children in Need Appeal. The Heatherbank students liked the idea of being able to try different types of work and felt that doing CPVE would improve their job prospects.

4. INSTITUTIONAL NEEDS

A fundamental difference between special education here and in other countries is that, in places like America and Sweden, provision is massively resourced whereas, here, it is expected to be implemented from within existing resources (Davies, 1988). In both countries, integration has occurred on a massive scale so that special schools have virtually disappeared. In most

American states, a class with more than six handicapped students will have a classroom assistant and an additional specialist teacher. Every large high school will have its own educational psychologist and many will have a physiotherapist, a speech therapist and full time nursing care (Davies, 1988).

This contrasts with the situation in Omagh College, where staff reported a shortage of classroom space. They also said that books, equipment and materials suitable for teaching CPVE were in short supply. They also expressed concern about teaching handicapped students in potentially dangerous workshops, kitchens and laboratories without assistance. The college has no special facilities for less able students and there are no lifts to make the upper classrooms more accessible.

Research suggests that the success of integration is often dependent on the quality of communication and support between special and ordinary school staff (Cantrell and Cantrell, 1976). The goals of the two different types of education have, in the past, been so distinct that there has been very little contact between special and ordinary school staff.

CPVE in Omagh operates through a consortium which consists of the college and six other secondary schools, Heatherbank being an equal member with the other schools. Representative from each school in the consortium meet weekly at the college to discuss CPVE and to exchange ideas. This is the first time that most of these schools had so much contact with each other and the first opportunity the college has had to communicate and co-operate with other local schools. It is, also, the first experience for these institutions in integrating their curriculum.

5. AIMS

Senior staff said that they aimed to make the college more accessible to a wider range of people in the community. They also hoped to create links with other schools in the area. The Heatherbank principal's aims for these students were that they should improve their coping and social skills in order to make the transition from school to the community easier.

There is a strong belief that handicapped children benefit socially and academically from integration and that it is in the interests of social justice and equal opportunity that they should be educated with their non-handicapped peers (Stobart, 1986). It is also argued that integration occurs only when the handicapped child is accepted as a member of the class by other pupils and takes part, to a large extent, in the social and academic activities of the class (Cope and Anderson, 1977).

6. OUTCOMES

The Heatherbank students took part in the same activities as other students and staff reported that they were accepted and protected by their classmates. Being at the college has given the Heatherbank students access to a wider range of friends and to the sort of life experiences which most young people take for granted - going shopping, using a canteen and public transport and mixing socially with the opposite sex. Some would argue that the importance of this sort of social education to the emotional adjustment of the less able cannot be overemphasised (Gunzberg, 1974).

For the students themselves, being at the college has proved to be a largely enjoyable experience and some were considering returning for another course next year. Building relationships and enjoying those relationships was perhaps the most important aspect of mixing for students. The Heatherbank students particularly valued their opportunities for

(1) Socializing
(2) Meeting different people
(3) Making friends
(4) Exchanging ideas
(5) Helping each other with personal and work problems

Both the college and Heatherbank staff noted the improved social skills of the Heatherbank students and their increased confidence and maturity. They had become more outgoing and relaxed in their dealings with adults, more likely to participate in discussion and initiate conversations with adults.

The lessons from this and other research are that policies must be put into practice which pay attention to the mechanics as well as the aims of integration, that teachers require special training and support, and that the pupils should be prepared for the new experience. This is in keeping with Warnock's emphasis that meaningful integration results from an approach which pays as much attention to the process of implementation as to the aims.

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SYSTEMATIC INDUSTRIAL TRAINING FOR ADULTS FOR A WIDE RANGE OF MENTAL HANDICAP

David McEwen, Frank Joly, Mary Byrne

INTRODUCTION

Before its reorganisation in 1985 Drumcar Park Enterprises functioned solely as a Sheltered Workshop for some 65 mainly resident clients of St. Mary's Hospital for the Mentally Handicapped. Employment was offered in contract work and furniture production and the majority of the training was of the 'on-the-job' type. Because the ratio of staff to clients was highly inadequate there was a low intensity and relevancy to training programmes, methodologies were not used to increase the attention span of clients, no structured attempts had been made to increase the production rate, no performance criteria had been established and there was no standard system of motivation or reinforcement, client mobility was condoned and the keeping of records was erratic. It can be understood that at that time the majority of clients whose levels of mental handicap ranged from mid-moderate to severe, had established poor work habits and appropriate training programmes were urgently needed. It was decided that rather than unlearning unacceptable behaviours within the Sheltered Workshop a new learning environment would be created where appropriate industrial behaviours could be established. A project team of Co-ordinator, Psychologist and an Instructor undertook to plan a programme for an Industrial Activation Unit which would provide training in the skills necessary for clients to work more independently and to increase attention and production. In addition to work related skills it was felt that the programme should encourage clients to become co-workers in small teams which would support production rates but also encourage the formation of friendships and a sense of "belonging" in the workplace.

THE PILOT PROGRAMME

The pilot programme became known as the 'Mini-Workshop' and selection for the first group of clients began in January 1986. The proposal for the Mini-Workshop outlined broad criteria for entry and suggested that clients would need ... communication skills, which would not necessarily need to be verbalised; imitative skills; good manual dexterity; the ability to appreciate praise; and freedom from behaviour disturbance.

All clients of the Workshop proper were assessed as possible team members. Information was sought from members of staff as to the workskills abilities and attitudes before formal assessment began. It was decided that in addition to the usual test batteries the Adaptive Behaviour Scale 1974 Revision of the American Association on Mental Deficiency would be used as a measure of possible sociability. A short list of possible team members was drawn up and each client was interviewed, given a short description of the programme and a tour of its environment. At that time the exclusivity of the Mini-Workshop was emphasised and the fact that prospective trainees would have to earn their place was reinforced. Until this time all clients of the service had been issued with royal blue dust-coats. In an effort to distance Mini-Workshop trainees it was decided that they would wear a green dust-coat with a symbol on the breast pocket. This uniform, the exclusive environment and the staff-client ratio of 1:4 was seen by possible clients as having sufficient value to cause competition to be amongst the first intake.

The programme was set out in three phases and was planned to last for three months. During phase one emphasis was given to improving on-task attention, vigilance and the learning of discrimination skills. Phase two concentrated on training to a specific work task using a task analysed approach to develop motor memory and to unlearn established work patterns and irrelevant or inattentive responses. During phase three the team concept was emphasised and the clients were re-introduced to the Workshop floor. A detailed sub-programme of interpersonal skills continued throughout all three phases of the programme concentrating on courtesy; respect; participation; co-operation; sharing; obedience; caring; trust; and social values.

An Operant Training Device was constructed to be used during phase one. This device was in the form of a large box which had three large holes each with a small bulb above it. A small green light was positioned below the holes. In using the device the Instructor caused the green light to flash as a 'get ready signal' followed by a light indicating one of the holes into which a ball would be posted by the client.

PHASE ONE: CONCENTRATION

Once the first four clients had been chosen work began on the Operant Training Device and each team member completed 1200 trials during phase 1 of the programme. The trials were divided into four stages.

Stage 1: Discrimination only: No get-ready signal.
Continuous reinforcement

Stage 2: Discrimination and vigilance: Get ready signal used.
Continuous reinforcement

Stage 3: Discrimination, vigilance and attention:
Differential timing of get-ready signal.
Continuous reinforcement
Stage 4: Discrimination, vigilance and attention:
Reinforcement intermittent
and signalled.

Correct responses to the signals were reinforced by a bead and counter system and successes were charted. Each session lasted 40 minutes. A criteria was established of the number of correct responses without failure and this had to be reached by clients before the next stage could be entered upon. Some clients reached criteria more quickly than others and this necessitated an increased number of trials for some. However, the number of incorrect responses decreased for all clients during the four stages of Operant Training.

Requests by clients to extend the sessions was another indication of the success of this type of training in that they were finding it to be fun. Operant Training also provided an opportunity to introduce clients to systematic one-to-one training which was for them a new departure. Working with clients at such an intensive level prepared them for phase two of the programme which called for a strong and mutually dependent learner-trainer relationship. In addition to achieving its main objective of improving on-task attention, Operant Training laid the foundation for building a loyal and interested team.

CLIENT MOTIVATION

Coupled with the artificial means used during Operant Training, the use of exaggerated verbal praise and attention from staff members proved to be effective social reinforcers. Clients charting their own progress acted as a further effective reinforcer and greatly encouraged peer motivation and enthusiasm for the next stage of the work.

During the early stages of training, clients had individual charts which recorded progress, and the client gaining the most points on his chart at the end of each week earned either bonus pay or a desired item. It was important that clients understood this method of motivation as until that time rewards for work done was limited. Few of the original clients in the Mini-Workshop valued or cared for money so the token system was a necessary anticedent. Resident clients had had little opportunity to earn or spend money so their understanding of rewards was limited. In an effort to encourage punctuality, tea or coffee was offered in the morning to clients who arrived for work by 9.30 a.m. This was used in conjunction with a very simple "clocking in" colour chart. The coffee was given as continuous reinforcement for the first month, in later stages becoming as intermittent as two/three times weekly. This method of motivation was so effective that clients often decided to commence work 15 to 20 minutes early. Despite the fading out of this reinforcer, time keeping continued to be good even when the "clocking in" system was also faded out. At a later stage in the programme punctuality became linked to earnings but by that point good time keeping had become habitual.

TANGENTAL PROGRAMMES

In establishing the Training Programme emphasis was laid at all times that the ultimate employment goal for the clients was to be of a sheltered nature given the levels of mental handicap involved. However, staff were conscious that the Sheltered Workshop should reflect the milieu of a "normal factory". To that end a sub-programme of training in interpersonal and communication skills was written to run throughout the full course training.

There is a continuing debate on the importance of Social Competence as a factor in job retention by persons with a mental handicap. Haywood (1970) cites Heber and Dever (1979) who found that a considerable percentage of people with a mental handicap with I.Qs of 50 and above achieved employment. They added that their job retention appeared to be more closely related to attitudinal and personality factors than intelligence. Greenspan and Shoultz (1981) found support for the hypothesis that "... social incompetence plays at least as important a role in explaining competitive job failures of mentally retarded workers as do non-social ones."[1] However, they do cite Wolfenberger (1967) who suggested that he felt that the importance of Social Competence in the work failure of the mentally handicapped to have been exaggerated.

It is the view of the authors that an acceptable level of Social Competence must be reached by workers in whatever type of employment they attain. Although it has been stated that the goal for the clients in the Mini-Workshop was not open employment due to the level of their handicap. It was accepted that at some time in the future competitive employment could be an option. The Robbin's Report (1975) stated "The ultimate objective for handicapped persons undergoing rehabilitation should be integration into open employment."[2] Therefore it was considered necessary that a sub-programme should run throughout the full course, some people with a mental handicap are often failure avoiders and one aim of the sub-programme is to turn them into success seekers.

---

[1] Greenspan S., & Shoultz, (1981). Why Mentally Retarded Adults Lose Their Jobs: Social competence as a factor in work adjustment. *Applied research in mental retardation: Vol. 2. p. 23.*

The following items made up the core of the interpersonal skills programme:

Courtesy
Participation and co-operation
Sharing
Helping
Respect
Obedience
Caring
Positive approach to working environment
Trust
Communication skills (using L.A.M.H.)

At the outset it was envisaged that training in these areas would occur in as structured and systematic way as other modules of the programme. However, much of the training occurred in a spontaneous fashion, supported by formal modules. It has been suggested (Leland, 1977) in order to succeed within the community, people with a mental handicap must develop a level of social invisibility. Such a skill for us becomes instinctive but for the clients of the Mini-Workshop had to be learned.

Details of the sub-programme follow in Figures 1, 2 and 3.

---

1. Training and Employing the Handicapped: Report of a working party established by the Minister of Health 1972. (Robbins Report).

Figure 1. Interpersonal Skills Programme

FUNCTION	TASK	SUB-TASK
COURTESY	Knowledge of being polite and mannerly towards other people	Greeting Farewell Please and thank you Table manners Queueing Speaking quietly Walking, not running Listening carefully
	Being patient	Waiting Following instructions Calmness Persistence Uncomplaining
	Showing appreciation	Thank you (verbal) Thank you (written) Returning a favour Giving something in return Volunteering Good deeds
RESPECT	In the working environment - care of tools and equipment	Own tools Own equipment Own overalls Peers' tools Peers' equipment Peers' overalls Employer's equipment Premises
	Proper behaviour in the working environment	Mannerly Carry out instructions Adhering to instructions Working rules Punctuality Towards Supervisor Towards Manager

Figure 2. Interpersonal Skills Programme

FUNCTION	TASK	SUB-TASK
PARTICIPATION	Joint ventures at work	Proper attitude Benefits of proper approach Team-work Benefits of team-work Financial gains Gains to skills
CO-OPERATION	In the employment situation	Discuss advantages Purpose of team-work Team for assembly work
	Actions affecting others	What I do effects others What others do affects me
	Reciprocating	Give and take with mutual agreement Fair play
SHARING	Work sharing in employment situation	Dividing job Use common tools Exchanging tools and equipment Staying in own work area Purpose of team-work Cleaning up Agreeing with partner
OBEDIENCE	In the working environment	Receiving instructions Carrying out instructions Keeping to instructions

Figure 3 Interpersonal Skills Programme

FUNCTION	TASK	SUB-TASK
CARING	In the employment situation	General safety Specific safety Attention to detail Being thorough Finishing the job Pride in work Considering fellow workers Personal hygiene Personal appearance
	Taking charge	Giving instructions Supervising work Ensuring completion of task
TRUST	Respecting other people's belongings or confidence in the working environment	Employer's tools Employer's equipment Employer's property Employer's money Items found
	Being responsible	In charge of job Accepting responsibilty Doing what is expected Showing confidence Confidence in you Reliance Not telling tales
SOCIAL VALUES	Knowledge of importance of people, relationships, experiences and things	Choosing freely from alternatives After deep reflection Cherish your choice Accept your choice

PHASE TWO: "THE JOB"

Once clients had reached the criteria set for phase one, work skills were introduced. The methodology used at this stage was based on strict philosophy of "Try Another Way". "Try Another Way" was devised in 1980 by Marc Gold, whose task analysed approach creates opportunities for the client to make choices and so build confidence in their own ability to make decisions.

A work task was chosen according to availability of sub-contract work within the main Workshop The task was divided into sub-tasks and each was then task analysed. Performance criteria for each sub-task were established in detail and training began at a ratio of 1:1 in an isolated and undisturbed environment. Initial training involved Modelling of the task by the Instructor, followed by full physical prompting while avoiding eye contact. Verbal prompting and assistance were gradually faded to become gestural.

In working with the first team it became clear that isolated training was not prompting the team spirit essential to the success of the Mini-Workshop. Clients worked in isolation and had no interest in the success or failure of other team members. In order to counter this, an assembly line was introduced whereby each client saw the necessity to complete his part of the task, thus ensuring that his co-workers could complete the job process.

While creating an awareness of the importance of "quality control", emphasis was also placed on improving production rates. During phase two a "timer" was introduced and clients were encouraged to work against the clock. Once again a systematic method was used with a gradual reduction in the time allowed to complete the task. It was seen that when a specific work load was given to the team to be completed within sixty minutes, clients were much more attentive to the task, worked at a much faster rate, and showed annoyance if the task was not completed within the time allowed. Peer motivation was strong and teams requested that the timer should be set and it was seen to be a definite stimulus for the commencement of work.

MOTIVATION

Both observation of baseline performance at a given task and recording of output following training over months revealed increases in production and consistency rates. Central to this was the setting of targets using symbol-based visual aides. This involved charting the level to be attained by the team within a set period of time. Two methods of setting targets were used. In the first the clients were asked to complete eight packets of pegs within an hour, in the second they were given the component parts of eight packets of pegs and were told to start work without being told how many complete units were expected. The latter method appeared to be the more effective. When clients were provided with visible targets to reach, they were more likely to succeed, to be reinforced and were subsequently motivated to work harder.

FINDING THE TEAM LEADERS

Competition for team leadership was encouraged from the early stages of the programme. Although leadership qualities and dominant personalities were more apparent in some clients than others, all team members were given an opportunity to act out the role of team leader. This was done on a weekly basis and each client was given at least two trials of one week to exhibit his leadership qualities. The job specification for team leader is given in figure 4.

Figure 4. Job Specification for Team Leader

---

1. To ensure that all team members are occupied and work attentively to reach set targets.

2. To prepare all equipment and materials necessary for the commencement of work.

3. To ensure that each team member carries out his task adequately and to offer assistance when needed.

4. To inform Area Supervisor when work is completed and to request more.

5. To liaise with Instructor and report difficulties encountered by or with his team members.

6. To behave in a responsible manner.

When chosen as leader, the client was then given a badge and a white coat as symbols of his status. This distinction from other team members has ensured that an awareness of his special role prevails. Motivating the team leader to maintain his authoritative role has been at times difficult. However, when the leader was given regular attention and token reinforcement linked to the performance of his team he ensured that his men worked consistently and with minimal Instructor supervision. It was found that "a good leader is one whose team can function without him" is a questionable philosophy. The team leaders who have emerged from the Mini-Workshop to date have provided a tremendous sense of togetherness and by their presence have maintained a state of independence for their teams. In their absence, teams continue to work but they lack their usual motivation to achieve and reach targets.

RE-INTRODUCTION TO THE 'NORMAL' WORK SITUATION

The final phase of the programme reintroduced the clients to the Workshop floor. This stage was known as generalisation. In generalising the Mini-Workshop programme it was decided that the factors which had contributed to its success should be maintained. Broadly this included reinforcement methods, group membership, team leadership and the provision of visible targets. Recognition of the team as a "corps d'elite" and competitiveness within the group emerged as further essential ingredients in the maintenance of performance.

Teams which had been isolated from other employees for several months with few distractors and much individual attention required a gradual re-introduction to the mainstream of the workforce. A sudden move to the Workshop floor would have provided exposure to too many distractors and might have been detrimental to the continuing high output performance of teams.

The process was begun by placing the team for extended periods in an area partitioned off from the main floor, but close to the Mini-Workshop. Attention was gradually withdrawn over a time.

As the teams began to work with minimal supervision the role of team leader became more relevant. After two months the partitions were removed and team members worked together but independent of the other employees of the Workshop. Production rates were observed to have fallen during the first two weeks of generalisation but following this settling in period they returned to normal. Teams now work in competition with each other and this continues to be a major contributory factor in motivation.

Work sessions are presently for one hour periods. Tokens, which can be exchanged for valued items in the programmes' own shop each week, are used as reinforcers when targets are achieved. Attempts to increase the time span of these sessions have caused a fall-off in production. Thus it appears to be essential for regular reinforcement to occur, especially for people functioning at the intellectual level of the programmes' clients.

Material for five one-hour sessions is set out in an assigned area each day and the team leader is responsible for providing his team with new material at the end of each hour. Work continues to be performed against the clock and targets are always made visible to the clients. On occasions when a new job task is required to be carried out by the teams, individuals are returned to the Mini-Workshop where training takes place. This ensures that the new task is learned correctly using systematic approach, which avoids the emergence of "behaviours" that might later need "unlearning".

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the proposal for an activation unit outlined deficits in the existing programmes and made positive suggestions as to how these might be overcome. The main objectives of the proposed programme were to provide the clients with the necessary skills to work independently, to move on to something better, and to increase his production in order to obtain more meaningful rewards. Central to ensuring that such a programme could be realised was recognising that a highly structured environment and an adequate staff/client ratio were essential.

Teams who work independently have been established, production rates have increased dramatically and an effective system of reinforcement has been created. Team workers are given recognition as people who can be depended on to complete a given task efficiently and responsibly. Mini-Workshop teams are now seen as role models by their peers and the industrial attitudes of other clients have changed.

It was stated that the "real" aim of the programme was to develop the clients' developmental growth potential. Now that the aim has become fact it is planned that the programme will become a formal research project which will be reported on in due course.

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Contents

Notes on Contributors		ii
General Editor's Comment		iii
Allan A. Glatthorn	Supervision: A Whole Systems Approach	1
Ric A. Hovda *Diane W. Kyle*	Why Action Research? An emergent Role in Educational Reform	24
Diarmuid Leonard	Two Perspectives on Difficulty: Decisions in a Dance Education Project	45
Nigel Harris	The Role of the Inspector as an External Agent in Supporting School Improvement	60
Kevin Williams	The Case for Democratic Management In Schools	73
Jacquie Campbell	Can We Do Creative Work in Our Schools?	87
Gerry McNamara	The Myth of Illiberality: Educational Theory and Curriculum Practice in Pre-Vocational Education	99
R.L. Caul *J.I. Harbison*	The Curriculum in Small Schools in Northern Ireland and Scotland	117
Maureen Killeavy *Brendan Spelman*	Music Standards and Dispositions 2: Formative Musical Experiences as Predictors of Competence in Music Among Students Entering a College Of Education	138
Jennifer Hunter *Jean McQuoid* *Clare Mangan* *Karen Trew* *Irene Turner* *Ruth Harrison*	Levels of Mathematical Understanding in the Primary School	159
Deirdre Butler *Sean Close*	Assessing the Benefits of a Logo Problem-Solving Course	168
Maureen E. O'Rafferty	Pupil Understanding of Non-Technical Vocabulary in Science Textbooks	191
John Sheehan	Economics in Secondary Schools: A Review of the Leaving Certificate, GCE "A" Level AND GCSE	206
Jean Whyte	The Views of the Consumer in Education - A Much Needed Gap?	217
Anne E. Sutherland *Susan M. Teare*	The Lough Neagh Monster: Rumour and Glimpses of Reality Regarding the Transfer Procedure	232

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General Editor's Comment

The Importance of Curriculum Studies

The study of curriculum has become a growth point in education internationally. It gives me special pleasure to edit this number of the journal since my own area of interest is in Curriculum Studies; an area only recently introduced as a field in its own right in higher education in Ireland; one which has easily found a home because of its practical import for the general issues involved in schooling: teaching and learning and scholarly curriculum inquiry. Yet Curriculum Studies have had to exist often in the shadows of, and alongside the foundation disciplines, which have held the dominant position in both educational research and teacher training and education in the Education Departments in third level institutions in Ireland. We need greater provision for curriculum courses and the allied areas of educational leadership--administration, and supervision in the colleges and universities today--curriculum courses recognize the needs of practitioners at initial and inservice stages, for improved modes of describing, designing, interpreting and criticizing educational programmes at all levels of the system.

Yet more importantly Curriculum Studies have been responsible for linking theory and practice and for the *professionalization of the teaching force*. Teachers have been conducting their experiments in curriculum development and evaluating the results. Third level staff have made sound inputs into the process of *curriculum deliberation* by collaborating, facilitating and generally supporting improvements in school curricula. There has been a concomitant proliferation of courses at pre- and inservice levels. This "grass roots" reaction is vital, and healthy and holds out one of the keys for improving the system of education in Ireland-- for making teaching a profession. Yet provision of courses and curriculum reconstruction is not widescale and comprehensive. Greater resources are needed particularly in terms of inservice education and training. Ministers and other policy-makers would be extremely foolish to pass over this potent possibility. Yet there are new noises being made about further financial cutbacks and budgetary restraint.

The fifteen papers which are published in this number of the journal are devoted almost exclusively to aspects of curriculum in schools: including supervision, curriculum action research, curriculum development, theory, comparative curriculum provision, subject provision such as maths and computers at primary level; and economics and science at second level; the views of students, and the effects of the pupil transfer procedure upon the curriculum of the primary schools of Northern Ireland.

The increased number of both Educational Studies Association of Ireland papers and theses presented for higher degrees in the Irish Universities is brave testimony to the increasing interest in, and the coming of age of Curriculum Studies. One is tempted to ask and seek an answer to the question "How best will curriculum research contribute to educational policy and improved practice in schools"? The papers which follow give a wide range of answers and discuss varying strategies for understanding both curriculum provision and for forging sensible curriculum policies. One thing must be stressed and that is that individuals hold conflicting conceptions of curriculum and of the purposes and functions of curriculum research. Policymakers tend to look to research infrequently--but when they do they have utilitarian and political perspectives in mind.

Professor Allan Glatthorn, noted American curricularist, offers an overview of research relating to effective supervision. Professor Glatthorn provides us with the Invited Paper for Volume 8. Allan has served as a school principal, lecturer, curriculum consultant and has held several Chairs of Curriculum Leadership and Educational Administration. Thus he brings a lifetime of labour and love to his perspective. Supervision is not a well developed field of research in Ireland, or in Europe, though there is a growing interest in the problems and practice of administration and supervision. His comprehensive review of recent American research on effective supervision points us in promising directions.

A growing band of educational researchers now look to curriculum action research as a way of solving practical problems and increasing the autonomy of the professional practitioner. Professors Hovda and Kyle offer American responses to some of the problems of teacher-researcher facilitation and interactive school based action research. Hovda and Kyle argue for "professional centres" which support the work of teachers doing action research. This is a sensible and exciting new development in establishing meaningful dialogue and partnership contracts between universities and schools.

Mr Diarmuid Leonard continues the discussion of action research with his analysis of collaborative support within a dance education project--thus providing a case study of interactive action research Irish-style.

Nigel Harris has exploded a few myths in the process of illuminating the role of the Inspector in curriculum improvement thus providing further evidence of insider-outsider curriculum support and collaboration by the Northern Ireland Department of Education.

Jacquie Campbell offers some clarification of the concept of "creativity" in curriculum through her philosophical analysis of this much bandied term.

Gerry MacNamara offers a convincing defence of social and personal "pre-vocational" education in Ireland against the charge of illiberalism.

At least four separate studies focus on the curriculum of primary schools in Northern Ireland, Scotland and the Republic of Ireland encompassing general curriculum provision, music, mathematics and computer education.

Les Caul and Joan Harbison give us a comparative study of small primary schools in Northern Ireland which might well tell us more about cultural values than curriculum provision in these two territories.

Maureen Killeavy and Brendan Spelman publish part two of their ongoing enquiry into the musical dispositions of College of Education students.

Jennifer Hunter and her colleagues at Queen's University provide research evidence relating to pupils' mathematical attainments demonstrating a wide range of levels of understanding in primary school.

Deirdre Butler and Sean Close examine the merits and effects of computer education and they conclude that it is possible to measure and describe skills and concepts which benefit from programming and Logo problem-solving activities.

Two studies contribute to furthering our understanding of curriculum subjects at post-primary level; Maureen O'Rafferty discusses science provision and John Sheenan of U.C.D. Economics Department offers a comparative analysis of curriculum syllabus provision in Economics at G.C.E. "A" level in Northern Ireland and Leaving Certificate Level in the Republic of Ireland.

Jean Whyte conducts an inquiry into the views of the consumer--the pupil and the curriculum and finally Anne Sutherland and Susan Teare examine the significant whiplash effects of the Northern Ireland selection procedure at 11+ on the curriculum of the primary school.

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SUPERVISION: A WHOLE SYSTEMS APPROACH

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Instructional supervision, at least as currently practiced in the United States, seems to take a piecemeal approach. Most approaches, such as that of Madeline Hunter (1984), focus on teaching skills: "learn how to do anticipatory set." Others, such as Garman (1986), emphasize teacher thinking: "reflect about why you decided to use that strategy." A few, such as Sergiovanni and Starratt (1985), see organizational renewal as the answer: "give teachers a share of the decision-making process." The argument here is that supervision will be more effective if it takes a whole systems approach, one that understands the complexity of classroom interactions and uses that understanding to improve those interactions. This article will describe what is known about the classroom and then suggest how that knowledge might be used in a whole systems approach to improving life in classrooms.

Classroom Complexity: Factors Other Than the Teacher

Several interacting factors all work together to produce a given lesson--the school culture, the support system, the students, and several aspects of the teacher as a professional. Those factors other than the teacher are discussed in this section; teacher factors are discussed in the following section.

The School Culture

The culture of the school--the belief system, the norms, the values--operates as a powerful determinant of teacher behaviour. The culture of the school influences the teacher both directly and indirectly. The teacher first experiences the culture directly, as the shared assumption and norms are transmitted and reinforced. The teacher also experiences them indirectly, as they affect the teacher's peers, the school administrators, and the students--all of whom in turn affect the teacher. In fact, culture is so influential that Alfonso (1986) calls it the "unseen supervisor"--a set of forces that helps keep teachers on target, teaches them how to behave, and establishes standards, values and sanctions.

Two sets of factors--the teacher's peers and the school administrators--seem to be specifically important as channels by which the culture is transmitted to the teacher. As Bredo (1980) discovered, the most consistent predictor of a teacher's particular instructional approach is the approach generally used by colleagues; as he notes, the normative climate created by peers may be quite significant in affecting teacher behaviour. And Floden and colleagues (1980) discovered that "other teachers' opinions" was one of six factors influencing teachers' curricular decision-making.

Obviously, school administrators--especially the principal--play a key role in the teacher's world. Teachers are influenced directly by the principal's planned behaviours, as the principal evaluates teachers, conducts staff development programs, offers supervisory advice, and monitors the teachers' implementation of the approved curriculum. And, as McEvoy (1987) notes, the principal also exerts a strong influence through "everyday acts"--the informal exchanges that take place in the corridor, in the faculty lounge, and in faculty meetings. That influence at times can be negative. The "good" history teachers in the "good" high school studied by McNeil (1985) watered down the content, restricted student reading and discussion, and minimized the use of student writing--all in response to top-down administrative attempts to change student grouping patterns and improve student discipline.

The Support System

The support system includes all those materials provided to the teacher to provide the instructional process. A review of the literature suggests that three components are most influential: the textbooks, the written curriculum, and the tests.

Although the conventional wisdom holds that teachers are slaves to the textbook, the research yields a slightly different picture. In general, the text is only one source that teachers use in shaping the taught curriculum--and for the most part, it tends to be one of the less important factors. (See the 1980 study by Floden and others.) Other researchers have noted some interesting differences in this general finding. In one study of the factors influencing teachers' curricular decision-making, elementary teachers relied most of all upon the textbook, while junior high school teachers relied chiefly upon the district curriculum guide; and high school teachers, upon their own knowledge of the subject (Kimpston and Anderson, 1986). Teachers' confidence in their knowledge of the subject and teachers' experience also seem to be important variables in how the textbook is perceived. Teachers who have more confidence in their knowledge of the subject tend to be more critical of textbooks and rely more upon their own knowledge of the subject. And, as less confident teachers gain in experience over the course of their first year of teaching, they tend to move away from the text and rely more upon their own pedagogical knowledge.

While the evidence in general suggests that teachers do not use the written curriculum as a specific perscription for what to teach, they do consult it as a general guide. Clark and Elmore (1981) found that published curriculum materials exerted a very strong influence on yearly planning; and Smith and Sendelbach (1979) found that teachers depended heavily upon published guides in their unit planning--but made major modifications as they translated the published materials into their own unit plans. Finally, Floden and colleagues (1980) discovered that written curricular objectives were second only to the test in influencing teachers' decisions about what to include. There are, however, some interesting differences relative to this issue of teacher reliance upon the curriculum. As noted above, junior high teachers tend to rely most of all upon the curriculum. And, as discovered in the Kimpston and Anderson study, teachers in general have a more favourable attitude towards formal curricula when curricular decisions are made at the district level, as opposed to the school and classroom level.

Tests seem to be the strongest of the support factors, especially in the United States, where both curricula and instruction are increasingly test-driven. To begin with, tests seem quantitatively important. In one survey of testing in the United States in elementary mathematics, teachers reported an average of 23 tests per year; 80 per cent of those tests were curriculum-referenced tests. (See Burry, Catterall, Choppin and Dorr-Bremme, 1982). Tests also seem important as curriculum determiners. In the Floden study, tests were the most important factors in influencing teachers both to add and drop topics from the core curriculum.

Students in Classrooms

One of the most salient factors influencing teacher behaviour is the students in classrooms. A growing body of evidence suggests very strongly that the teacher's decisions about how and what to teacher are significantly shaped by the nature of the classroom and the students in that class. The following discussion (drawn chiefly from Doyle's 1986 review) presents a general picture of how those forces operate.

First, the classroom is a very special place. As Doyle notes, there are six features that make the classroom a unique world of its own: multidimensionality (many different events and tasks occurring); simultaneity (many things happening at the same time); immediacy (events taking place at a rapid pace); unpredictability (events taking unexpected turns); publicness (events witnessed by many); history (classes develop their own past, with early events shaping subsequent actions). In a sense, then, the classroom is a highly complex and potentially unstable environment.

Given that complexity and unpredictability, the teacher understandably is concerned primarily with classroom management--taking the necessary steps to ensure that students are attentive and not disruptive. To manage that complex environment and make it more predictable and thus controllable, the teacher relies heavily upon rules, routines, and structured procedures and activities. Thus, activities like seat work and recitation persist because they meet the teacher's need for simplicity and routinization. If presented with a novel curriculum that requires less structured and more open activities, the teacher makes the necessary modifications to simplify and routinize the curriculum, often rendering the curriculum less potent than its planners intended.

Within that general concern for managing a complex environment, the teacher is also sensitive and responsive to the nature of the students in the class. As Goodlad (1984) and others have noted, different ability groups seem to elicit markedly different teacher behaviours. In comparison with high ability groups, low ability classes are typically characterized by the following features: more routines; more seatwork; more recitation; more time spent on management issues; more interruptions by the teacher of student work; and less wait time in responding to student answers.

The students themselves play an active role in shaping the teacher's decisions and behaviours. They have their own agenda: for the most part, they want to have opportunities to talk with each other, to avoid failure and public embarrassment, and to complete classroom tasks with the least amount of effort. To accomplish those ends, they will exert considerable pressure upon the teacher to simplify the curriculum, to use undemanding activities, and to ask easy questions. Since the teacher can achieve classroom order only with student cooperation, the teacher tends to yield to those student pressures.

Classroom Complexity: The Teacher

The central figure, of course, is the teacher, and those interested in facilitating the professional growth of the teacher are understandably concerned with improving the teacher's skills. However, it is argued here that skill improvement can best come about if supervisors are aware of and sensitive to other critical components of teacher performance--the teacher's cognitive processes, the teacher's motivation, and the teacher's developmental stage. The discussion that follows examines what is known about cognition, motivation and developmental stages before turning to the issue of skills.

The Teacher's Cognitive Processes

Until somewhat recently, as Shulman (1986) notes, teachers' knowledge and cognitive processes have constituted a "missing paradigm" in research on teaching; researchers and teacher educators seemed markedly indifferent to what went on inside the teacher's head. Fortunately, there is now a developing awareness that a teacher's classroom performance is strongly influenced by the teacher's background knowledge, planning and interactive decision-making.

The Teacher's Background Knowledge. As Shulman analyzes the issue, the teacher's background knowledge takes three forms: propositional knowledge, case knowledge, and strategic knowledge. Propositional knowledge includes three categories: general principles ("keep students on task"); practical maxims ("don't smile until Christmas"); and value-laden norms ("give every student a chance to succeed"). Case knowledge is a knowledge of specific well-documented events--specific instances and examples that illustrate and exemplify the more abstract propositional knowledge. Strategic knowledge is the insight that helps a teacher know when and how to apply the propositional knowledge: "keep students on task--but give the less-able kids in the fifth period class more frequent breaks."

In the Shulman analysis, those three forms of knowledge are at work in three domains of content knowledge. The first domain is subject matter content knowledge--knowing not only the facts and concepts of a given subject area but also knowing its special syntax--the ways concepts are related and the methods by which truth and validity are established. Several recent studies clearly indicate that the depth and breadth of the teacher's knowledge of subject matter content influence how the teacher conceptualizes that subject and presents it to the students. (See, for example, Steinberg, Haymore and Marks, 1985; Grossman, Reynolds, Ringstaff, and Sykes, 1987; and Wilson and Wineburn, 1985). Teachers with a very limited knowledge of a subject tend to simplify it in a way that results in serious distortion.

The second domain of knowledge is pedagogical content knowledge, the way a teacher conceptualizes the subject in order to teach it. The pedagogical content knowledge of English literature, for example, would involve knowing which works are most likely to elicit student interest, which literary concepts are most likely to be difficult, and which kind of responses would be most appropriate to emphasize for a given group of learners.

The final domain of knowledge is curricular content knowledge--the teacher's knowledge of what is taught in preceding and subsequent grades, what objectives are considered important for that teacher's classes, what materials are available, what is being taught in other areas of the school's curriculum, and what curriculum projects are available from other sources.

In addition to the content knowledge that Shulman considers important, the teacher also draws upon knowledge of the students--both as groups and individuals. That knowledge influences both the teacher's selection of content and the teacher's choice of teaching methods. One study, for example, concluded that teachers were more likely to consider lecture, discussion, and seat work as more appropriate for abler and highly motivated students, while viewing peer tutoring, games and individual conferences as more appropriate for slower and less motivated learners. (Shuell, Ewing and Watson, 1985).

The Teacher's Planning. All this background knowledge shapes the teacher's planning. While teachers vary significantly in how they plan, the general picture presented below tends to represent the planning strategies of most teachers. (The discussion below draws primarily from the excellent synthesis of the planning research by Clark and Peterson, 1986). Teachers seem to do five kinds of planning: yearly, term, unit, weekly and daily. Of these five types, unit and weekly planning seem to be the the most important. Teacher do not put much stock in long-range planning, since they know that the unpredictability of school schedules makes such planning counterproductive.

In their daily planning, they tend not to commit plans to paper, unless there are strong administrative pressures to do so. When they do write plans, those plans are often very sketchy lists or outlines., However, they do have mental images of how they see the class unfolding. Those mental images serve as visual scenarios that guide their actions, until something goes wrong. In developing those scenarios, teachers tend to think most about content and activities; they identify objectives at the end of the planning process--and only if required to do so.

The Teacher's Interactive Decision-Making. Then those plans are delivered in the classroom--but delivered often with major modifications. In implementing the plans, the teacher tends to call upon well-established classroom routines, routines that serve the purpose of reducing the information-processing demands of teaching. The teacher has routines for starting class, for reviewing, for calling on students, and for handling particular kinds of content. Even with the use of routines, the teacher is very active mentally; several studies indicate that the teacher makes about one decision every two minutes. Most of those decisions are made as the teacher becomes aware of and attempts to respond to cues from the internal and external environment--what the teacher is thinking and feeling, what students are doing, how time is passing, and how the lesson is flowing.

Teacher Motivation

The second important component is the level of teacher motivation. Motivation, as the term is used here, is an internal set of drives that lead an individual to initiate and continue voluntary action in order to achieve personal goals. The research findings about teacher motivation are summarized in Figure 1. It should be noted, of course, that the findings are generalizations about what motivates most teachers. While they provide useful guidelines for supervising teachers, educational leaders should be sensitive to teachers' individual differences. In his study of 15 teachers,

Figure 1. Increasing Level of Motivation: Summary of Findings

A Supportive Environment

The teacher is likely to be dissatisfied with teaching when one or more of the following features are not present.

1. The relationships and interactions with clients (students and parents) are generally positive ones.
2. There is effective leadership.
3. The physical conditions (salary, facilities, materials) are considered adequate.
4. The general school climate is a positive one; it seems both orderly and cooperative.
5. The teacher has a manageable teaching assignment.

Meaningful work

The teacher's level of motivation is more likely to increase when these features characterize the teacher's work.

1. The teacher has an appropriate degree of autonomy--about the curriculum, about the teacher evaluation process and methods of teaching, and about the conditions of work.
2. The teacher believes in the significance of the work.

Belief System

The teacher's level of motivation is more likely to increase when the teacher holds the following beliefs.

1. The teacher has a sense of efficacy--a valid belief in his or her ability to perform successfully.
2. The teacher believes that the actions to be taken will achieve the intended results.
3. The teacher believes that those results will be recognized with rewards that the teacher values.

Figure 1 (Continued)

Goals

The teacher's level of motivation is more likely to increase when the following features characterize the teacher's goals.

1. The teacher's goals are shared by peers; there is a consensus about goals.
2. The goal-setting process, is a cooperative one, with supervisor and teacher both having significant input.
3. The goals are specific, not general.
4. The goals are attainable but sufficiently challenging.

Rewards

The teacher's level of motivation is more likely to increase when the following characterize the reward system.

1. More emphasis is placed on such intrinsic rewards as a sense of competence and a feeling of accomplishment.
2. Student achievement is emphasized as a meaningful reward.

Feedback

The teacher's level of motivation is more likely to increase when the following features characterize the feedback system.

1. The teacher makes continuing assessments of student learning and uses positive results as reinforcement.
2. Administrators and supervisors arrange for frequent opportunities when they can give teachers merited praise and support.

Mitchell (1987) was able to identify four different groups of teachers ("the master teachers", "the helpers", "the instructors", and "the coaches"), each of whom seemed to respond best to different incentive systems.

Stages of Development

There are several ways of understanding the teacher from a developmental perspective--life-cycle development, conceptual development, and professional development, among others. The one that seems most important is the teacher's stage of professional development. The summary in Figure 2, which uses a four-stage framework, represents this author's synthesis of several research studies and reviews on stages of professional development.

As the summary in Figure 2 suggests, teachers seem to move through certain predictable stages of career development. There is general agreement among researchers about those first two stages, although they may use different terms to identify them. The first year teacher is at the survival stage, concerned mainly with making it as a teacher. At this stage, teachers seem to worry most of all about matters of discipline, subject content, grading and parent relationships. They tend to teach somewhat traditionally, too insecure to try new approaches; and they want somewhat directive on-site assistance, preferably from an experienced and competent mentor. Once successfully past that first year, teachers seem to move into a second stage of consolidation or adjustment. They are more confident, and unlike those at the survival stage, are interested in trying new approaches. They are concerned with individual pupil needs but are also concerned about expressing themselves

Figure 2. Stages of Teachers' Professional Development

STAGE	GENERAL ATTITUDES	PRIMARY CONCERNS	MAJOR SOURCE SATISFACTION	TEACHING PRACTICES	SUPERVISORY NEEDS
1. Survival. First year.	Confused, anxious. Uncertain about profession.	Subject content. Belonging to the group. Discipline. Grading. Lesson planning. Parents. Getting good rating.	Respect of supervisor. Pupil affection.	Traditional. Teach the subject Limited knowledge of pupils, school.	Mentor. Directive. On-site assistance with technical matters.
2. Adjustment. Second to fourth year.	More confident. Open to new approaches. Developing new concept of profession.	Pupils as individuals. Individual pupil problems. Pupil self-concept. Expressing self as teacher.	Meeting needs of pupils.	Trying new approaches. More complex understanding of pupils.	Experienced Colleagues. Teacher centers. Collaborative. Need some technical help. from supervisors.
3. Maturity. Third to twentieth year.	Secure, satisfied. More committed to profession. Open to change. Questioning of authority.	Creative ways to teach. Own well-being. Not getting stale.	Career development. Promoting the academic discipline.	More flexible More child-centered. Eager to learn new techniques. Ready for new assignments.	Peer supervision. Non-directive supervision. Interested in Wants more options. Interested in external workshops, conferences.
4. Settling down. Fifteenth to end of career.	Discouraged, dissatisfied. Either bored or searching for renewing experiences.	Designing exciting learning experiences for special pupils.	Pride in job well done.	Higher order, affective goals. More complex view of pupils. Flexible.	Problem-solving supervision. Action research. Reading, independent study. Designing own inservice programs.

as teachers. They seem to prefer collaborative supervisory approaches, working with and learning from experienced colleagues, although most still need some technical assistance from supervisors.

There is less agreement about what happens after that second stage. Burden's (1982) research leads him to identify an all-encompassing "mature" stage that he sees as covering the fifth year and beyond. During this mature period, the teacher is quite open to change and is ready to accept authority; career development seems like an attractive prospect, and career ladders have their strongest appeal. However, there is some research indicating that, along about the fifteenth to the twentieth year, some important changes occur. At this period many teachers seem more likely to feel dissatisfied and discouraged with teaching; still others, however, talk about those years as the peak years of their career and continue to search for renewing experiences.

Teaching Skills

Although the above discussion has argued against a narrow and an exclusive emphasis upon teaching skills, it is obvious that skills matter. Broad knowledge and strong motivation are not enough to produce effective teaching. Here again, however, it makes sense to view those skills broadly, rather than limiting attention to a small number of what some have termed the "essential elements of instruction."

One model of teaching that has proved to be useful proposes two broad categories of teaching skills--support skills and instructional skills. The support skills--such as planning for instruction--are not directly observable by a classroom visitor. The instructional skills--such as conveying high expectations--are directly observable. Those instructional skills in turn are divided into two types--general instructional skills and special instructional skills. The general skills are generic ones that tend to apply across a range of subjects, pupil populations, and models of teaching. The special skills are specific ones that apply to specific subjects, pupil populations and models of teaching. The discussion that follows analyzes those three groups of teaching skills.

The Support Skills

As explained briefly above, the support skills are those skills that support effective classroom instruction--but typically are used behind the scenes. The research suggests that two support skills play a key role in the effective delivery of instruction--planning and assessment. Since planning was analyzed above, the following discussion focuses on assessment.

The second support skill, assessing, includes two related processes--testing and grading. Teachers test frequently and use test results in making decisions about student placement and content emphases. And, as Berliner (1984) notes, student achievement will show improvement if there is a reasonably close fit between what is taught and what is tested. Grading also matters. While many reformers in the 1960s argued that giving grades interfered with learning, the research suggests that grades do motivate students to learn more (See Gage and Berliner, 1984)

The General Instructional Skills The second major group of teaching skills are called the *general* instructional skills. These are skills that meet two criteria: they are strongly supported by the research on teacher effectiveness; they seem to apply across a range of subjects, pupils, and models of teaching. The formulation of the general instructional skills shown in Figure 3 proved to be very useful in the author's workshops in supervision and evaluation. The list is general enough so that teachers do not see it as unduly prescriptive or limiting.

The Special Instructional Skills As the term is used here, the special instructional skills include those skills that seem especially useful for certain groups of learners or for certain school subjects. To begin with, supervisors and teachers need to be aware of the instructional needs of special pupil populations. For example, the research in general suggests that mildly retarded and learning disabled students can improve their performance when teachers teach them how to chunk or cluster information and concepts (Macmillan, Keogh, and Jones, 1986). Teachers and supervisors also need to know and be able to apply the research on teaching in particular subjects. These special instructional skills build upon and extend the general skills.

A Whole Systems Approach to Supervision

What are the implications of the foregoing analysis? It should be clear that any approach that focuses on only one of those several factors influencing teacher behaviour is a misguided one. Instead it would seem obvious that a whole systems approach is called for--one that is sensitive to the complexities of classroom life and uses a multi-faceted approach to improving classroom interactions. Given space limitations, it is possible here only to sketch in briefly the nature of that whole systems approach.

Figure 3. Essential Skills of Teaching

Lesson Content

1. Chooses content for the lesson that relates directly to curriculum goals, is appropriate in relation to student development, and corresponds with assessment measures.

2. Presents content in a manner that demonstrates mastery of subject matter.

Climate

3. Creates a desirable learning environment that reflects appropriate discipline, supports instructional purposes and helps keep students on task.

4. Communicates realistically high expectations for students.

5. Uses instructional time efficiently, allocating most of the time to curriculum-related instruction and pacing instruction appropriately.

Instruction

6. Provides organizing structure for classroom work: reviews, provides overview, specifies objectives, gives clear directions, makes effective transitions, summarizes, makes relevant assignments.

7. Uses learning activities that are appropriate for the objectives and reflect sound learning theory: explains, demonstrates, and provides guided and independent practice, when appropriate.

8. Ensures active participation in learning activities.

Assessment and Communication

9. Monitors student learning, gives students feedback about learning, and uses evaluative data to adjust instruction.

10. Explains clearly, questions effectively, and responds appropriately to student answers.

The first aspect of the whole systems approach is leadership from school administrators and supervisors in producing a professionally supportive environment. Working together with teachers, they should attempt to change those factors lying outside the teacher's control that are interfering with good teaching. They can work to change the culture. They can modify those other organizational elements that impinge upon teacher motivation. They can provide an improved support system with better texts, curriculum guides, and tests. And they can modify the influence of the students, through more constructive grouping practices and more enlightened discipline policies. Instead of fixing the teacher, they determine if it is the organization instead that needs fixing.

The second aspect is a differentiated approach to supervision, one that provides teachers with options. As this author has suggested in another (1984) work, beginning teachers and experienced teachers with serious problems probably need the intensive help of clinical supervision. However, all other teachers should be given an option of either working on their own in a self-directed mode or working with colleagues in a cooperative approach. Differentiated supervision responds to the developmental differences of teachers by giving them a choice--not by classifying them and telling them how they will be supervised. By limiting clinical supervision to a small group of teachers, differentiated supervision also enables administrators and supervisors to focus their efforts on those who most need intensive help.

The final aspect is a problem-solving approach with the teacher, one that empowers teachers to take charge of their own professional growth. Such an approach, as used by this author in several professional workshops, involves a three-stage process. First, with the supervisor's assistance, the teacher articulates a vision of what he or she wishes to be as a teacher, identifying in writing and through discussion the idealized professional self. Then, again with the supervisor's assistance, the teacher analyzes the obstacles standing in the way of actualizing that vision, using the formulation in Figure 1 as a guide. That analysis unables the teacher to focus the immediate work on the one factor that seems most important and most amenable to change. Is it teacher knowledge, level of motivation, or skills? Is it the students and their patterns of interaction? Or is it perhaps the support system that can be strengthened--an improved curriculum, better tests, more useful textbooks? The teacher and the supervisor then work collaboratively in the area selected, moving closer to the teacher's vision of the idealized professional self.

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WHY ACTION RESEARCH? AN EMERGENT ROLE IN EDUCATIONAL REFORM

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Probably most educational researchers would agree that the hope of discovering ways to reform educational practice motivates their research efforts. And, yet, the role research plays in the professional lives of teachers is unclear; indeed, studies of teacher decision-making indicate research findings have little influence on instructional planning (Jackson, 1968; McCutcheon, 1980).

Recognizing the discrepancy that appears to exist between the conduct and use of research has led some to suggest a different approach to the study of educational questions and problems--action research, or research conducted by teachers themselves. According to Erickson (1986), the professionalization of teaching will require a different conception of the role and its responsibilities.

> If classroom teaching in elementary and secondary schools is to come of age as a profession--if the role of the teacher is not to continue to be institutionally infantilized--then teachers need to take the adult responsibility of investigating their own practice systematically and critically, by methods that are appropriate to their practice. (p. 157)

This role of research in education raises several questions to be explored. What is action research and what are its characteristics? How can action be implemented? What conditions reap its greatest potential?

What is Action Research?

Much of the early conceptual work about action research can be attributed to Stephen Corey who defined the approach as "research undertaken by practitioners in order that they may improve their practices" (1953, p. 141). What is suggested, then, is research conducted by the insiders, the teachers who daily face the complex, interacting, occasionally unpredictable events of classroom life. This implies a study of the particulars of a setting, a study conducted under life-like circumstances by those most affected by the findings. In spite of these differences, though, action research and traditional research also share some common traits. For example, both attempt to improve educational practice, one through the development of laws and principles, the other through understanding one situation as a basis for actions in the future. Also, each process begins with the identification of a problem. These problem areas, in each case, lead to questions, a choice of research design, the gathering of evidence, and conclusions and implications.

Although others echoed the call for research from the insider's perspective (Wann, 1952; Harris, 1964), little evidence exists to suggest that the notion found wide-spread favor or that classrooms and the activities within them became topics of study for many teachers. Several factors might account for this. Perhaps those writing about action research in books and journals were not as effective in explaining the ideas to teachers or in helping teachers see the relationship of such ideas to their own particular situations. Or, perhaps teachers were hesitant about assuming a new and unknown role. Or, maybe schools and school systems provided limited support for such efforts.

In the past decade, however, an increasing number of educators have rekindled the idea of action research by pointing out the potential contributions of such efforts (Elliott, 1978; Clifford, 1978; McCutcheon, 1981) and by providing ways for teachers to refine their skills and then talk about and write about their research efforts.

Current arguments for action research closely resemble those presented nearly three decades ago, with a few apparent modifications. For instance, Corey and his associates focused on the problem-solving function of action research and emphasized such research as a means of effecting teacher change. While this theme prevails in current writings, other functions are also acknowledged. Nixon (1981), for instance, suggests that action research provides a way for teachers to increase their understanding of classrooms, but this "may not imply a different course of action on the teacher's part..." (p.6). Also, action research offers a means of viewing how theories of teaching and learning exist in practice; as a result, existing theories may be challenged, modified, or elaborated.

Earlier action research proponents reflected a reliance on experimental design and on the statistical analysis of findings. In current studies, however, teacher-researchers use methods from such disciplines as anthropology and sociology and report their findings in a case-study format.

As noted, the idea of action research is not new. But what can be done this time to sustain the effort, to increase support for the notion, to enable teachers to view research as part of their professional role, and, ultimately, to increase understanding and knowledge about education through a sharing of findings from such studies? The following section provides a few suggestions.

How Can Action Research Be Implemented?

The attractiveness of action research for education lies in the role of the researcher and the intent of the research. Unlike other research roles, the teacher-action researcher must be an active participant in both the research and teaching process. The unique aspect of action research is the need to act upon the results, and implied in this notion is a research behavior closely associated with teacher behavior. In addition, the recursive characteristic of the action research design parallels teaching practice. As information becomes available, it is fed back into the situation for the development of new information and new questions. Longstreet (1982) accents this interactive quality of action research.

> It is important to emphasize that, in action research, not only are the data acquired subject to revision, but the problems themselves are in a continuous state of dynamic revision. Action research develops and redevelops the problems by submitting their parameters to a process of redefinition that takes into consideration whatever new data or contexts have accumulated. (p. 148)

Teaching is a very similar process with a very similar purpose. These matches between the roles and purposes of research and teaching enhance the prospects for the use of action research by teachers.

Judging by past efforts, however, successful implementation of action research must consider two important issues. First, teachers must be encouraged to perceive themselves as researchers, and in particular as action researchers. Secondly, the research efforts must be endorsed and valued by a support network. (Hovda & Kyle, 1984)

Selecting an action research problem, for instance, can provoke insecurities teachers may feel about the role of teacher-researcher (Shumsky, 1986). Teachers often have difficulty perceiving themselves in the traditional role of the researcher, and understandably so. The most well-established research paradigm is traditional scientific research; however, teachers feel hesitant about how to control variables in the dynamic teaching/learning environments they're familiar with or to use sophisticated statistical procedures to understand data. Initial efforts with action research, therefore, must help teachers see how being a researcher can be compatible with being a teacher.

Action research can be best utilized by education, then, if there are concentrated efforts to involve and support groups of teachers in an organized way. Teacher education and in-service education programs must be considered as the most promising formats. Both programs not only are well established in the teacher education process but also provide a construct into which the action research design can be creatively established.

Undergraduate and graduate teacher education programs can encourage research behaviors by teachers through such activities as observation and note-taking, maintaining teaching logs, case studies, and informal data collections for in-class discussion and reflection. (Ross, forthcoming; Kyle, Hovda and Whitford, 1987) However, central to each task must be the idea that the information gathered will be used to assess and refine teaching behavior. Teachers gain from the action research approach because it provides personal-authentic data for study and reflection and establishes a professional level of teacher behavior.

In-service education could certainly benefit from an action research component. Action research study groups might be established to explore educational questions generated by teachers. These groups could be formed either within or between schools, grade levels, or school types. In-service programs are designed to inform teachers and aid them in professional development. The action research design fulfills those goals but, in addition, may exert a greater influence because of the degree of personal involvement and commitment. But how can these efforts be structured to sustain and reap the greatest potential benefits of action research?

A Promising Collaborative Arrangement

In 1982 we established the Action Research Study Group at the University of Louisville, in Louisville, Kentucky as an option in the graduate teacher education program. During the year-long experience we assisted teachers in developing research skills and guided them through a classroom based study.

The first year taught us several important lessons about facilitating teachers' new experiences as action researchers. We learned the importance of addressing initial and emerging perceptions of what research is; we learned the significance of a support group; we learned the appropriate pace of activities and which ones proved most beneficial; we learned about contextual constraints in schools which inhibit teachers' efforts to study and resolve problems, and we learned about the willingness of teachers to overcome some of those constraints when they are committed to instructional improvement. The subsequent three years of the program reinforced these learnings and convinced us that teachers' involvement as action researchers is possible, appropriate and beneficial.

Our experience with the Study Groups also convinced us that, without change, the program was destined to have limited impact. Although the teachers became enthusiastic about their research and indicated an interest in developing their roles as researchers further, no one continued the activity once the year's involvement with the Study Group ended.

This is not to say that teachers were not changed by their experiences. They perceived themselves as more reflective about their practice and more confident about resolving their own problems. But they did not continue to pose questions and collect data systematically. Most explained this by pointing to the lack of support in school settings for teachers to engage in such activities.

The opportunity to resolve this dilemma occurred with the establishment of the Gheens Professional Development Academy in the Jefferson County Public Schools. The Gheens Academy is a center for the development and implementation of improved strategies for the recruitment, selection, induction, evaluation, and continuing education of public school teachers and administrators (Whitford & Hovda, 1986, p. 59).

The Academy aims at restructuring schools in ways which will increase the likelihood of student success and of teacher growth, leadership, and satisfaction. In fact, this effort is underway with the the establishment of what have come to be called Professional Development Schools (PDS). Action research, as a vehicle for teachers to chart their own courses in professional development and to assume a greater role in instructional and school-wide decision-making, is compatible with the broad goals of the Academy and of PDS's. Thus, the establishment of the Study Group as a cooperative venture met a variety of needs of both the university and the school system.

The Gheens Professional Development Academy, under the direction of the nationally recognized reform spokesperson, Dr. Philip Schlecty, serves a system of over 100,000 students and teachers. During the first year of operation, the Academy initiated a collaborative planning process to establish several Professional Development Schools that would bring about a fundamental restructuring of schools to support the effective functioning of all teachers, administrators and students.

The mission of the professional development schools (PDS) is twofold. One purpose is to develop models of exemplary practice, where proven methods of effective teaching are combined with promising innovative strategies and techniques. In short, these schools will serve as prototypes of what is eventually expected of all schools in the system. The second mission of the PDS is to serve as professional training and induction sites for education students, student teachers, intern teachers, and new administrators in the system.

The twenty-four PDS sites include an equal number of elementary, middle and secondary schools. They are also representative of the school district's total student population and demographics. These schools have demonstrated a commitment to the PDS philosophy, which focuses on student success through strong teacher and administrator leadership and collegiality. In each, a majority of the staff has voted to participate as a PDS planning site. In addition, school representatives have worked on teams to help forge a statement of beliefs and standards to guide the continuing evolution of PDS's. (See Appendix A)

A significant aspect of PDS is the level of collaboration that has been established between JCPs and the University of Louisville School of Education. Faculty members from the School of Education have been actively involved in the PDS planning process from the outset. University professors also serve on the Advisory Board for the Gheens Academy and play an active role in the implementation of the training and development programs to be launched in the PDS.

One of the proposed activities in PDS's would be research opportunities and collaborative development projects. Since the first years of Academy activity focus on planning PDS's, several efforts to simulate proposed PDS activities (called "little tries") have been initiated. Among these activities is the invitation to teachers in PDS planning sites to participate in action research study groups.

These study groups are organized into school teams, and meetings are held at school system sites. These seemingly subtle shifts from previous study groups sponsored at the university soon began to present issues that previously had not been encountered. While the complexities of this emerging collaborative reform effort are in the early stages of analysis and understanding, the "little tries" at establishing school-based action research teams is beginning to define some of the problems and potential for such activity. Most notable is the issue of the changing role expectations of teachers in their developing collaborative relationship.

Whitford, Schlechty and Shelor (1988) present a typology of collaborative relationships that helps to explain the influence of the collaborative arrangements as school based action research teams were established. Three types of collaborative structures are proposed--cooperative, symbiotic and organic. Cooperative collaboration is seen as relationships based primarily on personal contacts rather than institutional. Most often these relationships are of a project nature and usually operate for a finite period of time. Cooperative collaboration generally recognizes the partners as either "deliverers" or "receivers" of service and operates independently of, and sometimes in spite of, any overt organizational support for collaboration.

Symbiotic collaboration is described as having institutional support through formalized alliances. It is characterized by providing mutual benefits--"I'll help you, you'll help me". Reciprocity is the key.

The organic type is characterized by collaboration focused on an identified issue that can be jointly owned, where the purpose of the alliance is to serve the body as a whole. In other words, a "boundary spanning issue" exists, i.e. the professionalization of teaching.

This typology is helpful in analyzing the changing arrangements the study groups have experienced over the past several years. For example, the early groups were primarily self sponsored individual teachers who most often were conducting classroom research without the knowledge of their school administrators. This arrangement most often resulted in what teachers reported as a valuable short term experience that ended when the study group disbanded. The experience prompted concerns about role identification; for example, not one teacher reported carrying on action research studies after the year's collaboration in the study group. However, after only one year of a more symbiotic type of collaboration, several teachers are involved in continuing action research in their schools. What might account for this?

The most compelling explanation is that the collaborative arrangement between the university and the school system has shifted from a cooperative to a more symbiotic-like association. As an example of our current stage of development, we can point out that the action research study groups have many signs of legitimacy (Gouldner, 1970), such as financial support, release time for participants, and support from administrators. Also, we can see how many teachers have become convinced that research is an appropriate part of their roles as professionals.

However, we can also find evidence to suggest that the study groups have not yet achieved authentic status (Gouldner, 1970). Authenticity means that teachers would have a clear sense of knowing what they want to do and doing it. At this stage, we find teachers still grappling with what they want and with what they allow themselves to do. For instance, participants will ask such questions as: "What happens if we conduct a politically sensitive study? Who will be held accountable for the results? Is this topic appropriate? Who owns the research? Who is responsible for acting on the results?"

It is important to note that the authenticity of the study groups must be discussed and understood within the context of the larger systemic reform effort being attempted through the establishment of professional development schools. The emerging role of action research within this collaborative educational reform effort extends beyond the scope of professional development to encompass a basic restructuring of the teaching role. As the restructuring process continues, we expect teacher-researchers will find an increasing sense of legitimacy and authenticity for this emerging new use for teachers in the Jefferson County Public School.

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APPENDIX A

EVERY LEADER, A TEACHER
EVERY TEACHER, A LEADER
EVERY STUDENT, A SUCCESS

PROPOSED STANDARDS FOR PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT SCHOOLS AS EXEMPLARS OF EDUCATIONAL PRACTICE

BELIEFS

Effective organizations proceed from a clear and simple set of beliefs regarding what the organization is and what the organization is about. The beliefs that will guide Professional Development Schools are:

I. Student success is the goal of all school activity.

II. Students need to be challenged and need to learn to pursue difficult tasks and persist with tasks at which they are unsuccessful.

III. Learning is an active process.

IV. Teachers are leaders, and principals are leaders of leaders.

The primary role of the principal is to create the conditions in which teachers can lead, to develop leaders, and to lead leaders.

V. The business of the school district and the state is to assure that each school unit operates under optimal conditions and produces optimal results.

VI. Staff success results from motivated and competent people working in an environment which is committed to their success, continuing growth and development.

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES

Effective organizations are characterized by a clear and consistent operating style, a style aimed at being responsive to the qualities desired in the staff who carry out the functions of the organization as well as the quality of the results that the organization is intended to produce.

The staff of Professional Development Schools are committed to the following objectives:

Shared Vision

1. All staff in Professional Development Schools will be aware of and supportive of the beliefs and objectives that are intended to characterize a Professional Development School.
2. All staff will hold a common definition of what constitutes successful student and staff performance.
3. The tasks that students undertake will call upon them to actively work on knowledge and knowledge related products, and these tasks will be designed so as to produce results which are valued by the school system and community as these values are expressed in school system goals and priorities.
4. Students will understand that adults in the school are committed to making school life a successful experience.
5. Each student will know the standards for successful performance and will assume increasing responsibility for upholding the highest standards of excellence in each task undertaken.
6. Staff will develop an agreed upon set of indicators of successful performance and will monitor performance in terms of these indicators.

Shared Decision Making

1. How staff will be involved and the conditions of that involvement will be decisions made by the staff.
2. Those who are affected by and expected to help solve problem(s) will be actively involved in identifying the problem(s) and making decisions about how the problem(s) should be solved.
3. A system will be in place so that those persons who are actively involved in identifying the problem(s) and making the decisions about how to solve them believe that their views are heard and taken into account.
4. The system will encourage those who were affected by a decision, but who were not actively involved in the decision, to feel that their views were heard and represented.
5. Most people who are affected by the decision will accept it and support it.

6. Those persons who disagree with a decision will understand the basis of the decision and believe that the decision was fairly arrived at. Furthermore, they will be willing to actively support the decision even though they would have preferred some other alternative.

Success Orientation

1. The range of tasks undertaken by students and staff will be sufficiently wide to assure that each person enjoys considerably more success than lack of success.

2. The definition of student success will be sufficiently broad to assure that the tasks that students undertake will call upon them to think, reflect, create, and critically analyze, as well as to recall and respond.

3. Programs and activities will be designed to recognize, honor and reward successful performances.

4. Rituals, ceremonies, rewards and other forms of recognition will be in place to provide special honor to those who make unusual contributions to the success of others or who reach clearly marked levels of personal success.

5. When students are not successful, immediate support, direction, and/or instruction will be provided to assure subsequent success.

6. If the level of success of students or staff falls below that which is expected, procedures will be in place for an ongoing identification of the problems which must be addressed to more effectively pursue the goal. Furthermore, these procedures will be consistent with the concept of shared decision making.

Results Orientation

1. The assignments given to students will be such that each student can successfully complete most of them at an acceptable quality level, but some tasks should be of sufficient difficulty that each student's present limits will sometimes be exceeded.

2. Those responsible for making and/or implementing decisions will routinely have data available to them to assess the impact of their decisions on student and staff success.

3. Data bearing on student and staff success will be clearly communicated to all parties in a timely manner.

4. If the activities undertaken by students do not produce the results expected, procedures will be in place for identifying the problems which must be addressed. The indicators by which results are assessed will be of sufficient variety to assure that a wide range of student accomplishment is taken into account.

Flexibility

1. There will be a system in place to assure that when goal enhancing decisions are made at the building level, policies and procedures which would preclude the implementation of the decisions can be changed.

2. Policies and procedures regarding the way personnel are assigned, time is allocated, tasks are assigned, and resources are allocated will be such that a variety of tasks, staff, and resource allocation patterns can be employed.

3. Policies, procedures and decisions will be continuously reviewed in light of their impact on student performance and the results of student performance. When there is reason to believe that the results could be improved by changes in any of these, a mechanism will be in place to assure that such changes can receive expeditious review and approval.

Support

1. The quantity and quality of support provided to student and staff in pursuit of goals will be continuously improved and enhanced.

2. Staffing patterns and staffing assignments will be designed in such a way that all staff will have regular opportunities to engage in program evaluation activities and shared decision making without compromising the integrity of ongoing programs and without requiring individuals to routinely expend extraordinary amounts of personal time to carry out such assignments.

3. Opportunities to enlist the support of parents and/or adults who can assist students and staff will be persistently pursued and developed.

4. A system will be in place to provide flexible resources which make it possible to respond to developmental problems that emerge in the pursuit of goals.

EVALUATIVE QUESTIONS

Recognizing that all schools more or less meet some of the objectives outlined above, that some schools meet some of the objectives almost completely, and that some few schools may meet none of these objectives, it is recommended that the first step in creating PDS's would be for each school faculty to assess where they now are in relationship to these standards. To facilitate this self assessment, the following evaluative questions are suggested.

1. Is there consensus among staff regarding what constitutes student and staff success, and is there agreement regarding indicators of that success?

2. Are the tasks at which students are expected to be successful designed to assure that their completion will produce results that are valued by the school system and community as these values are expressed in school system goals and priorities?

3. Is there a wide range of success opportunity available to students and staff?

4. Does the school have in place a systematic means for assessing student and staff success?

5. When the level of success enjoyed by students and staff falls below what the agreed upon goal indicates should be the case, is there an agreed upon procedure for identifying the problem(s) which must be addressed to more effectively pursue the goal, and are these procedures consistent with the conditions which should characterize a Professional Development School?

6. Are those who are affected by and/or expected to help solve problem(s) actively involved in identifying the problem(s) and making decisions about how the problem(s) should be solved?

7. Do those persons who are actively involved in identifying the problem(s) and making the decisions about how to solve them feel that their views were heard and taken into account?

8. Do those who were effected by the decision, but who were not actively involved in the decision, feel that their views were heard and represented?

9. Are large numbers of persons involved in making decisions regarding problem(s), and does this involvement occur on a regular rather than sporadic basis?

10. Do most people affected by a decision believe in it and support it?

11. Do those persons who disagree with a decision understand the basis of the decision and believe that the decision was fairly arrived at? More importantly, are they willing to actively support the decision even though they would have preferred some alternative?

12. How often is it necessary to rule out a desired alternative because present policies and/or resources preclude implementation?

13. Is adequate time provided to promote shared decision making and planning?

14. When present policy or resources preclude the implementation of a desired alternative, are strategies available to change policy or gain resources, and how effective are those strategies?

15. Is the evidence which is used to determine school success sufficiently broad to assure that the tasks that students are assigned will call upon them to think, reflect and critically analyze, as well as to recall and respond?

16. How long is the lag time between the request for support and/or services and the actual receipt of those services?

17. When needed support is not available, are there strategies in place to make them available, and how effective are those strategies?

18. Is there evidence that the decisions made increase the number of students who succeed and the rate of success of each student? In other words, is there evidence of continuous improvement in the performance of the unit?

19. Are answers to evaluative questions, such as those suggested here, clearly communicated to those who are called upon to make decisions, and is this communication carried out in a timely manner?

20. Are the successful performances clearly recognized and honored?

21. How wide is the range of performances that are honored and recognized? In other words, do those who honestly expend effort have an opportunity to succeed and be recognized for their success?

22. Are there rituals and ceremonies that celebrate success and honor heroes, and if there are, are these rituals and ceremonies valued and meaningful to students and staff?

23. Do those who receive recognition know that they are being recognized, do they believe that they deserve recognition, and do others believe that they deserve recognition?

24. Are faculties, individuals and units in the school building able to procure support from outside agencies (including other units within the school district) when they need it, and is this support quantitatively and qualitatively adequate to the task?

25. When outside resources are needed, do school leaders know where to go for help and support?

26. Are the assignments which are given to students such that each student can successfully complete most of them at an acceptable quality level and of sufficient difficulty that each student's present limits are sometimes exceeded?

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TWO PERSPECTIVES ON DIFFICULTY: DECISIONS IN A DANCE EDUCATION PROJECT

Diarmuid Leonard

It is axiomatic in curriculum action research that first-time trials of curriculum innovations are likely to encounter difficulties, and that decisions must be made to overcome them. Such difficulties cannot be resolved unless they are understood, and yet their nature, their causes and their effects are problematic. Decision-making, then, is at best provisional and hypothesis-based, reflecting any of several quite different conceptions of the status, origins and significance of difficulties in action research.

Written from the perspective of the project facilitator, this paper explores such issues in the context of a current dance curriculum project.

Background and Origins of the Project

The project[1] was established by the Arts Council of Ireland. At present, education in creative dance is provided in a small number of schools only.[2] In the Dance Council's estimation, a large number of physical education teachers who do not teach creative dance would like to do so. The Council decided in 1986 to initiate a project aimed at repairing this situation. The approach chosen would build on the fact that all physical education teachers have some training in dance, though insufficient, in the opinion of many of them, to give them the necessary confidence to develop their own programmes. The project was envisaged as follows:

a) A module of six lessons would be developed for each year of the junior cycle. The objectives were to discover what could be accomplished by 'non-specialist' teachers of dance in the limited time available in most schools, and to provide a structured programme that subsequently other teachers could adopt.

b) A project team was set up. It comprised 16 teachers known to be interested in introducing creative dance into their school programmes, four dance specialists all with some or much experience of dance in school settings, two physical education inspectors, a project director and a facilitator.

c) The guiding principle was that the module would start from where the teachers are. The teachers would collaborate with the specialists to develop a module in which the aims and content would be suited to the teachers' level of competence.

d) The project would run in three annual cycles. Each year a module would be devised, tried out in the schools and evaluated.

e) The project was regarded as the first step in a long-term programme of curriculum development. Its purpose was to broaden the provision of dance education in the schools, and build a base for further teacher and curriculum development.

Tension in the Development Strategy

What has been outlined above was the brief given to the facilitator. It will be seen that the brief represented the outcomes of the earliest steps in the action-research cycle.[3] A problem situation had been identified: there was little dance education in the post-primary schools. A needs assessment had been made and a strategic idea or hypothesis adopted: teachers need a detailed programme to help them teach and to meet the constraints of their school situation. In very broad outline, an overall plan of action had been adopted; a curriculum project followed by inservice courses.

The facilitator considered that the project strategy had to be designed so as to resolve tensions between the declared emphasis on the immediately useful in the form of structured lesson plans, and on the other hand the longer-term and more diffuse goal of developing teacher understanding of dance such as is implied in Stenhouse's notion of curriculum development:

> A curriculum, if it is worthwhile, expresses in the form of teaching materials and criteria for teaching a view of knowledge and a conception of the process of education. It provides a framework in which the teacher can develop new skills and relate them as he does so to conceptions of knowledge and of learning. 4

The First Module

The action-research cycle of the first module was run as follows:

June 1986 In an intensive three-day workshop teachers and dance experts collaborated to clarify the aims of the module, developed a framework of guiding ideas (based on Laban's analysis of dance), worked out a sequence for the three junior-cycle modules, identified principles of procedure for their teaching of dance, and designed a series of six lessons for the Year One Module. The workshop was intended to ensure that the planning of a rationale and programme would extend the teachers' understanding of dance.

Early September 1986 The teacher participants spent a week-end together in which they practised and refined the module content. This experience was enriched by input from Mary Nunan, dancer-in-residence at Thomond College.
September-October-November 1986 The teachers tried out the module in their schools, using monitoring and evaluative techniques including diaries, logs, written pupil feedback and video-recordings.
November 1986 The teachers spent a week-end reviewing the module; minor amendments were made.

The Year One Module was judged by the teachers to be highly successful. In individual evaluative reports and diaries, the teachers indicated that they had felt confident about their teaching, their students had enjoyed the dance lessons though initially in some classes inhibitions were evident, and their classes had made progress in their dance performance. Asked if any changes should be made in the project strategy, the teachers indicated that for the Year Two Module the same strategy should apply.

The Second Module

For the planning, implementation, and evaluation of the Year Two Module, the same pattern of events and a similar time schedule were applied. There was however one very significant difference. At the second Year Two meeting, after the main outlines of aims and content had been determined, the teachers were given the opportunity to dance under the tutelage of the college dancer-in-residence, Mary Nunan. Mary tried out with the teachers on the dance floor some ideas which were in fact related to the proposed content of the Year Two Module (travel, shape, direction dynamics, pathways). The teachers found the dance sessions stimulating and extending while within their competence.

Not surprisingly the teachers were keen to incorporate these ideas into their module. Some confusion about the precise intentions of the dance elements was evident during the planning of the module, but seemed resolved in the teachers' rehearsals of the lesson units they had planned. By the end of that weekend, in September 1987, the teachers had developed a full module, and were eager to try it out.

In the last weekend of November 1987, the group met again to evaluate their experience of implementing the module. The mood was quite different from that of the corresponding meeting in the previous year. Though 55 per cent of the teachers felt the module had been successful in their schools, the remainder expressed some degree of difficulty including intense dissatisfaction with their experience of trying out the module. Dissatisfactions included:

"There was not enough structure, I found it difficult"
"I didn't feel in control"
"The students resisted the module"
"99 per cent of the PE teachers want a foolproof method - plans that suit the inexpert teacher"

Making Sense of Reported Difficulties

In the reported failures and difficulties, the project had for the first time run into the problem of failure. Decisions had to be made: what should be done? In a context of failure, deciding what to do has to be preceded by a search for understanding. Two sources of data were available, the teachers' written material and discussion at the joint evaluation meeting.

Individually the teachers' evaluation material - logs, diaries, written student feedback - differed widely, but the reasons for these differences were not at all clear from simply perusing the teachers' material. The evaluation meeting proved far more informative and revealing. The initial topic was the dissatisfaction of some teachers with what they termed 'the lack of structure' in the module lessons. Among many of those present, teachers and collaborators, this was a matter on which attitudes and views were strongly held.

For a team engaged in critical sense-making, it was important to maintain the open collaborative nature of the exercise, and to indicate that the purpose of the discussion was to discover the reasons for the different experiences of success and failure. In fact, the team, which by now had a strong social unity, did engage successfully in a process of mutual and revelatory inquiry. Two aspects of the joint evaluation are now considered.

First, the opening-up of discussion on the question of structure and teachers' sense of confidence demonstrated that causal formulations of curriculum difficulties are deeply problematic. From the discussion, it was possible to find support for any of several possible causes.
i) Implementation difficulties. One view: teaching difficulties are expected and normal in curriculum projects; teachers must expect to have to grapple with them. Another view: teachers must not be expected to implement module activities that lie beyond their competence.
ii) Faulty innovation design. There were different views on whether the module activities were well chosen

and designed for their purpose, in terms of student enjoyment and teacher confidence.
iii) Faulty strategy. In one view, the strategy of preparing lessons in detail was mistaken, because it restricted the teachers' creative competence. In another view, the strategy was one that pushed the teachers too fast in their personal competence in dance.

Secondly, in the joint evaluation there was a considerable 'disclosure of the tacit'.[5] Discussion exposed what had not been obvious at the planning stage, e.g. different teacher perspectives and expectations, different states of readiness to tackle a more experimental Year Two than Year One module, and different attitudes towards risk and security. It now became possible to take account of the differences of perspective and attitude among the team, and also to exploit the insights and understanding generated in the discussion. Before considering these latter points, the decisions taken by the project team are outlined.

It was decided to re-design and re-test the Year Two module. A major change in the module design was introduced: there would be three different levels of structure in the design of each lesson. Version A would state precisely the tasks and activities required: Version B would be less structured, allowing more scope for the teacher to choose the dance elements; Version C would give the teacher or pupils much scope for their own interpretation of what was required.

Reflection on the Project Strategy

The evaluation discussion revealed a close connection between teachers' reported success/failure and their expressed perspectives on schools dance, on the demands of teaching the module and on the difficulties encountered. Perspectives ranged between two extremes.

The Practicality Perspective	The Developmental Perspective
The module should meet the practicality criteria:[6] - easily understood and in a form ready to be used - easily incorporated into the teacher's everyday styles and practices - the advantages of adopting it must outweigh the cost in terms of teacher time and effort.	The module should enable the teacher to develop - in her understanding of dance - and in her ability to express that understanding through her classroom teaching.[7]
Dance is fun, giving immediate effortless enjoyment	Dance is disciplined, extending, fulfilling
Teacher insecurity requires the support of detailed prescriptive plans.	Teacher uncertainty is resolved by striving to develop one's own artistic competence as dance teacher through experiment

The two sets of teacher expectations are linked with the distinction between 'deep structure' of understanding, in which teachers are developing a basic understanding of dance and of how that understanding is expressed in classroom activities, and 'surface structure' in which teachers are concerned with 'behaviours rather than concomitant attitudes and understanding'.[8] With hindsight, it seems that in the exhilaration of extending oneself as a dancer under the tutelage of an expert dancer who is also a gifted teacher, it was possible for many teachers to mistake their heightened sensation of dance for something it was not - namely, a sufficient hold on the dance experience to be able to recreate it in their own teaching. Instead of translating the experience into terms and means within their grasp, the group had formulised it in the written module.

Several weeks later, many found the module difficult to teach. Since they were not in cognitive control, they had to rely on the technical directives contained in the module. The teaching of the module became extremely difficult, once its meaning receded. At this point, some experimented successfully and created their own meanings: for them the teaching of the module sparked off an internal dialogue. Some reported having struggled with less success. Some felt that their having to struggle at all with difficulties was an indication of the module's failure.

The task for the project, it is now clear, is a double one. How to enable every teacher to move from a surface-structure to a deep-structure understanding of dance and of the teaching of dance? But also: how to facilitate the mover from a practicality perspective to a developmental perspective?

Amendments in Project Strategy

The teachers' decision to devise three versions of a redesigned Year Two Module had met two keenly-felt demands: to maintain a social and curricular unity and at the same time to meet the widely different preferences of the teachers for structure. The decision had a dual focus, on design and implementation. Its intention was to reduce at both stages the likelihood of difficulty: the dance content would be within the competence of all the members, while the highly structured version would supply the security of prescription to those who felt they needed it. But the decision did not resolve certain ethical and strategic dilemmas. These spring from the fact of different teacher perspectives and competence, or to put it another way, from the fact that teachers were at different levels of development both in their view of themselves and in their understanding of dance. To meet the project's responsibility to the pupils, to the integrity of dance education, and to the participating teachers, it is necessary that the project should intervene to enable all the teachers to transcend the practicality ethic. The project strategy needs to be amended in order to provide systematically the stimulus, conditions and means for all the teachers to adopt a developmental perspective of their teaching, on themselves, on dance.

The first amendment relates to the question of the teachers' own developing understanding of dance. All the participants have a conceptual knowledge of Laban's analytical framework, but that knowledge is not a sufficient basis for advancing one's capacity to teach dance well. More is needed. To develop a depth of understanding that comprises creative and critical capacities, the project has to provide more personally educative dance experiences to the teachers.

On the teachers' developing mastery of new approaches to teaching, such as are required in moving from the teaching of physical education to dance, the research on teacher development in the context of curriculum innovation provides useful guidance. Fullan[9] reviewing recent research, identifies four aspects of the process of successful change in teachers' theory and practice: change takes place gradually over a period, often of about two years, involves anxiety, is incremental in skills development, and is cumulative in cognitive understanding. Writing about effective inservice projects, Showers[10] proposes five components of the process: theory, demonstrations, practice, feedback, coaching.

This research suggests a second amendment. If significant changes in understanding and skills take place gradually over two years or so then the project's activity has been too intermittent to facilitate the change process. The module is too short - only six lessons - to allow the necessary continuous interplay of theory and practice over a long period. Theory, ideas, demonstrations 'are not of much real use until they are digested to the point where they are subject to the teacher's own judgement'.[11] The only way to digest new ideas and new practice is through several cycles of applying them, discussing them, and reapplying them. We will have to find ways of re-running each module, and to provide more frequent meetings to allow for reflection and discussion.

Third, the problem of anxiety about being unskilful and seen to be unskilful. It is helpful to relate this to Naisbitt's[12] description of three stages in the innovation process. First is the 'path of least resistance' so as not to 'threaten people' and thus reduce the likelihood of 'abrupt rejection'. The second stage uses the new ideas to improve on what we have. The third stage involves the pursuit of new directions discovered during implementation. The first module involved the first two stages. But for a proportion of the teachers the classroom pursuit of new directions in the second module proved extremely threatening. It seems that at least a proportion of teachers need to be strongly supported through the difficulties of innovation. What kind of support? Showers' conception[13] of coaching comprises three elements: providing companionship, giving technical feedback, and analysing efforts to apply new ideas. Already the project strategy provides companionship and analysis in the form of open discussion about applying ideas at the planning and evaluation stages, though more frequent conferences would be helpful. We need on-site coaching with observation by a dance specialist followed by a coaching conference.

Fourth, the transfer of practice from the project dance workshop studio to the school dance lesson is more complex, and for some teachers more intimidating, than was originally recognised. The difficulties of transfer[14] should be anticipated at the project conferences by using simulated practice to a greater degree, and providing modelling and feedback, and with fuller opportunity to move from principle to experience to discussion and back again. On-site coaching would obviously help teachers grapple with the problems of transfer.

Fifth, it will be important to switch the focus of evaluation. The evaluation material completed by the teachers had asked them to identify difficulties they had experienced, and also asked what changes they would like to see in the module. The effect was to suggest that the solution to implementation difficulties was to change the module. But a developmentally-orientated strategy would point the module evaluation towards a rather different perspective, asking: what difficulties did you have, how did you cope with them?

Conclusions

Essentially the proposed changes in project strategy would

a) place teachers' development at the forefront of priorities rather than the production of the module, and so acknowledge that the ultimate purpose of the project is 'the enhancement of the art of teaching, of understanding expressed as (teaching) performance';[15]

b) make more demands on the teacher, by conveying that the dance teachers' professional skill and understanding can be developed through doubt and enquiry and, therefore, through experiment involving difficulty rather than certainty. Stenhouse offers pertinent advice: 'the teachers must (themselves) want change, rather than others wanting to change them. That means that the option of professional development leading towards professional satisfaction of a kind that brings an enhancement of self must be made clear and open to teachers'.[16]

c) reverse the project's implicit attitude to difficulty, by anticipating difficulty and strengthening teachers' capacity to deal with it at the planning and implementation stages, instead of attempting to screen out difficulty at both these stages and the evaluation stages.

d) provide for the fact that not all teachers enter a project with expectations or perspectives that enable them easily to undertake the role of learner-experimenter: allow them to decide when they are ready to move from Version A to B, or B to C, or back again.

e) provide a vigorous support system for the teachers, in recognition of a central finding: that an innovation in which teachers are acquiring new knowledge, while at the same time putting their mastery of the new knowledge to the test in the course of action research, makes heavy demands on teachers' capacity to tolerate the risk of failure and insecurity.

Notes:

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ii) The author would like to acknowledge the benefit of discussions with Theresa Leahy (project director), Mary Nunan (dancer-in-residence at Thomond College), Anne Sweeney (member of the module working group), and Gaye Tanham (project administrator and member of the project team) on the subject of the present paper.

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THE ROLE OF THE INSPECTOR AS AN EXTERNAL AGENT IN SUPPORTING SCHOOL IMPROVEMENT

Nigel Harris

The purpose of this paper is to outline some ways in which a specific external support role might function in relation to school focused curriculum development. In this case the role of Inspector relates in the main to the work carried out by a member of the Inspectorate of the Department of Education for Northern Ireland, who is currently involved in a curriculum development programme for 11-16 year olds. (What follows is a personal analysis. It does not represent the view of the Department of Education, the Northern Ireland Inspectorate or other inspectors involved with the 11-16 programme.)

The rationale behind this specific curriculum review and development activity is contained in "Secondary Schools: A New Development for 11-16 Year Olds" published by the Department in February 1984. The general aims of this development were:

> to improve the quality of education available to young people in the immediate target group, and thence to influence the provision for all those in the age range 11-16 and thus to improve the quality of education as a whole. 1

This emphasis on influencing provision and improving the quality of education in Northern Ireland is entirely in keeping with other curriculum development programmes in other parts of the United Kingdom. Much of the work of Local Education Authority areas such as Nottingham, Cheshire, Avon and ILEA shares the broad aims contained in DENI's publication. All these developments owe considerably to HMI papers Curriculum 11-16, known as Red Book I and Curriculum 11-16 "Towards a statement of entitlement", known as Red Book III. These publications provide a framework and a philosophy for the curriculum which directs attention strongly to the needs of pupils and the skills, concepts, attitudes and knowledge they will require in order to cope with life beyond school. The need to review current provision in England in the late 1970s was accentuated by the movement towards comprehensivisation in many LEAs and the abolition of selection. In Northern Ireland no such major organisational change has taken place. Pupils are selected for grammar or secondary school places at 11+; a number of the grammar and secondary schools are single sex; a further division is created by the fact that in the main Protestant children attend Protestant secondary or grammar schools and Catholic children attend schools which maintain a Catholic ethos. These patterns have resisted rather than stood the test of time. Views about the nature of the education system are fiercely felt, but may have more to do with the needs of the system or the need to preserve it than with ideas about needs, abilities and aptitudes of pupils.

It is against this background that the Department launched this initiative in February 1984. All secondary schools received a copy and were invited to take part in the programme.

Any school intending to participate had to state clearly why it wished to be involved in a school improvement programme. Schools which successfully contracted in were given financial and inservice resources to begin this improvement. These additional resources were guaranteed over a 5-7 year period. About one in five of all secondary schools were accepted in the first year of the programme. It is the Department's hope that at the end of five years all secondary schools in Northern Ireland will be involved. Schools could also draw on

> the support of a cohesive network of experienced personnel who will be available to advise and assist the staff in the design and implementation of appropriate curricula, in the choice of suitable teaching materials and techniques, and in liaison with other schools and agencies. 2

This "cohesive network" is organised on an Education and Library Board basis. (There are five Education and Library Boards in Northern Ireland - their functions are broadly similar to LEAs in England.) Each of the five groups includes a Department Inspector, a Board Officer and field officers, who are normally seconded senior teachers. The network is co-ordinated at a province-wide level by a Regional Co-Ordinator and Consultative Committee.

The Department Circular 84/10, which accompanied the publication, makes reference to "the programme as a partnership in which all the interests in education should be actively involved". It is the concept of partnership between the Department, the Education and Library Boards and the schools which underpins the programme's efforts to promote curriculum review and development. In reality it means that inspectors, board officers and teachers engage in close co-operation, communication and consultation, and learn from each other while improving the quality and appropriateness of what a school offers its pupils as an 11-16 curriculum. This idea of partnership is also clearly outlined in DES 'Curriculum 11-16 "Towards a statement of entitlement"'. It is admitted that this form of partnership is not without its problems. Teachers generally do not work closely with Inspectors and advisors, whose normal role is usually that of inspection and report writing. To some extent this role must be held in abeyance.

> However, the agreement made at the beginning that the exercise would not involve continuous reporting on schools did much to break down initial suspicion and eventually encouraged participation 4(2.1). 3

It is essential to stress that the involvement of an inspector in this form of curriculum development must be seen by the teachers to be non-judgmental, non-evaluative and largely unreported to the Board and the Department. This does not mean that it must be uncritical or unprofessional but it is a distinct and separate role from that fulfilled during normal inspection duties where the emphasis clearly is on recording, evaluating, making recommendations and writing reports. Meetings with teachers, often on a weekly basis, place considerable emphasis on interpersonal skills and in particular on developing positive professional relationships with teachers, some of whom may view working closely with inspectors with considerable apprehension. It is necessary to demonstrate frequently that the views which an inspector advances in meetings are for detailed discussion by all; they are not commandments.

Through the suggestion of alternatives; the promotion of sensible analysis and the distillation of ideas generated by the staff, it is possible to guide the consciousness of a school curriculum group to whole school and whole curriculum issues. The role should be one of persuading rather than recommending; discussing rather than stating and of drawing out perceptions from teachers rather than doing all the thinking for them... Perhaps, in some ways, it is identical with the role of a good teacher who guides rather than directs; who provides opportunities for discovery rather than dictates the outcomes and yet manages to assist pupils to reflect on and learn from what has taken place.

In terms of developing professional links it is also essential that the inspector assigned to this supporting role should remain with the programme for a substantial period of time. Sustaining commitment is often a matter of retaining the same people in the same roles for a number of years. Itinerant gurus, whatever their individual input, cannot, because of a short stay, begin to build a structure, develop relationships, support long-term goals or get to know the pupils, the teachers or the school in sufficient detail to assist real change in the classroom. In Northern Ireland the inspector's involvement with the programme is for a period of between three/five years. Such commitment does allow for an underlying philosophy of curriculum review and development to permeate the schools involved. Continuity in the personnel of the partnership should be seen as one of the achievable pre-requisites in effecting change.

The published "Study of HM Inspectorate in England and Wales" defines the role of the HM Inspectorate:

> a. to assess standards and trends throughout the education system and to advise central government on the state of the system nationally on the basis of its independent professional judgement.[4]

Inspectors in Northern Ireland normally have responsibility for work in primary schools in a geographical area of Northern Ireland; they are responsible for their specialist subject at secondary level in a substantial number of schools and frequently are involved in a variety of ways with work in further education colleges.

In addition, they represent the Department on a wide range of committees and boards concerned with education in Northern Ireland and United Kingdom dimensions. Thus they bring to their subsequent involvement in 11-16, substantial knowledge of how the curriculum is organised, taught and received in primary schools of varied sizes; how selection at 11+ affects teaching and learning and what the effects of transition from primary to secondary are for children from different sizes of feeder primaries who eventually attend the same secondary school. At secondary level, because of involvement in a range of schools and in general inspection reporting procedures, they have substantial knowledge about how schools are organised; what priorities, aims and objectives different schools set for themselves; what administration, time-tabling, pastoral care, curriculum, management arrangements are possible; what effects mixed ability teaching or other forms of pupil grouping have on teaching methods, use of resources and accommodation, teacher expectations and public examination entry policy, and, finally, what is possible when a school wishes it to be so in the educational interests of all its pupils. At the 16+ end of secondary, the inspector's prior involvement with further education and the world of work again provides considerable practical knowledge of how what happens in the 11-16 period is developed as the young person matures and seeks employment or takes part in the YTP scheme. This tri-partite overview of the education system enables the inspector to bring a wide perspective and professional objective analysis to a school which is involved in curriculum development. It enables the inspector to relate possible changes, on an informed basis, to what happens in other sectors of education and it enables the inspector to suggest models of good practice and organisation which might provide exemplary material for discussion for schools.

A feature of the external agent's role must be to promote dialogue between schools engaged in similar analysis. This can take the form of visits; guest speakers; liaison between teachers over units of work or forms of organisation; mutual classroom observation; specific pupil exchange, joint residential experiences, joint extra curricular activities or working groups established at a neutral venue such as a Teachers' Centre. An inspector can begin this dialogue; structure the first meetings, and then support its development without continuing to play the central role.

This inter-school dialogue will be part of the external agent's role as a facilitator. Equally so, the inspector will be concerned to develop intra-school discussion on matters such as assessment and marking procedures; streaming and setting; homework policy; teaching approaches; the use of small groups; the role of language and learning; readability and study skills. To this end it is necessary to structure a co-ordinating committee within the school, representative of staff expertise and opinion, to work with the external agents in directing school improvement. Beyond this the inspector will play a central part in assisting teachers generally to recognise the range and balance of the curriculum currently being offered to all pupils and he/she will help them to construct a curriculum whose quality and appropriateness is, after a period of analysis and development, substantially more in line with the needs of pupils. Essentially, the role of the inspector is that of a continuous provider of inservice training which relates at all times to the school. It involves working with the Principal on school organisation and management structures; working with the senior management team on major areas of policy such as setting, public examination entry policy, timetabling;

working with HODs on analysing and devising syllabuses, content, methodology and resources; working with teachers to assess how effectively units of work have been taught, received and learned and it involves working with pupils; sometimes as participant observer in activities, sometimes as a teacher. The 11-16 Enquiry "Work in the Nottinghamshire Schools" details specific ways in which local inspectors and HMI took part in development work in a number of schools. It is worth noting that several teachers in these schools valued and constructively used the objectivity of the inspector and his/her specialised skills of classroom observation and analysis to gain insights into methodology, suitability of content, pupil ability and the match with activity, different forms of assessment and what the pupils had learned and could explain to an outsider. Classroom observation is one of the Inspectorate's major skills and is a central resource in effecting development.

It is this work with individual teachers who wish to initiate changes in how they teach, what they teach and how they assess learning, which is at the core of supporting school improvement. It requires time, courage, involves considerable professional and personal risks for inspectors as well as teachers and is dependent upon professional credibility being recognised on both sides. In Nottinghamshire, inspectors were involved as members of committees and working parties which devised the units of work which were later assessed by the teacher writing a commentary, by the pupils writing their account and by the inspector as classroom participant observer. A partnership in learning is possible!

When considering the whole curriculum rather than the contribution of a lesson or series of lessons the inspector, as a result of observation of what an individual pupil is offered in, or derives from, the school's programme, can inform the staff in detail on a number of perspectives of the curriculum which are not easily available to a teacher in his/her own classroom. These include the range and balance of activities, reading, writing, listening, talking; the varied use of pupil grouping; the number of pupils who talk regularly, not at all; the effects of moving classes and changing sizes of classes on relationships; the balance during a day between practical and more academic activities; the varied use of questioning techniques; the frequency of relating what pupils are currently doing to the world outside the classroom; the impact various teaching styles have on the same group of pupils and the different types of presentation and assessment children are expected to adjust to within the space of a school day. This objective, value-free analysis, provided by an inspector, can shed considerable light on how the curriculum is received.

While work in specific subject areas will involve the inspector in contributing to his/her specialist interest, part of the role will be concerned with reinforcing the whole school and a whole curriculum review and development process. It is the inspector's role to encourage the school to define what the curriculum is now, to challenge the status quo and to define what programme should be provided. This cannot be achieved by a simple statement of subject/period allocation for each class. It is necessary for the inspector to remind the school of other ways of looking at curriculum range and balance, these include the eight areas of experience model; the GRIDS* project; the TRAWL* project analysis and the CCRAG* model adopted by

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*GRIDS - Guidelines for Review and Internal Development in schools
*TRAWL - Transition to Adult and Working Life
*CCRAG - Cheshire Curriculum Review and Appraisal Group

Cheshire. The inspector will have to assist the school in choosing a starting point from which to review current provision; to assist with regular communication with all staff as to what progress has been made and what short and long-term goals the school has in mind. Some of the issues which emerge after an initial review will be subject specific, some will be cross curricular, some will be organisation and management matters and some will relate to pastoral care and community concerns.

The inspector should assist the school to place these in order of priority; to establish working groups for further analysis and development where appropriate; to accept that in a five/seven year programme, most issues will be assimilated and to assist the school to cope with this development work within the ordinary working day. Pressures on teachers and a school's administration are to some extent seasonal - examination concerns, Christmas festivities and other celebrations such as Speech Days -and all take time for preparation. This inevitably impinges on the limited amount of non-teaching time which could otherwise be spent in curriculum development work. The rhythm, pace, rate of work and enthusiasm for specific development varies throughout the year. It is difficult sometimes to assess as an external agent whether work has not progressed because of genuine concerns or whether indolence and apathy have set in. Close collaboration and frequent deadlines for specific goals assist in avoiding inertia. Work in Northern Ireland would suggest that part of the role of the inspector as external agent is to monitor and honestly evaluate to the school, through its principal, the stage which has been reached. In addition the regular involvement of inspectors and board officers in meetings, courses and conferences with teachers in their own school gives such development a measure of central approbation which some teachers value. It is a tangible demonstration of three section of education personnel working in harmony for the best interests of pupils. The sense of belonging to something which has a national dimension enhances the school's own image and to some extent the regular presence of an inspector is physical evidence of that partnership.

There is no doubt that the inspector learns from the complexity and variety of this involvement. He is challenged to justify, to illustrate, to design, to analyse and to evaluate in ways which do not permit aloof inscrutability. Assisting committees and individual teachers to progress beyond the analysis of subjects into skills, concepts attitudes, knowledge, assessment objectives and normal teaching methods into developing new approaches and syllabuses, is a humbling and complicated task. But it is one which must be undertaken. Schools are, by the nature of our education system, by the personalities of the teaching staff and the needs of pupils, different; and it is unlikely that similar approaches will work equally well in different schools. Introducing a rotating module of microelectronics as a third core element for all pupils in one school, where all teachers of third year have attended a . microelectronics course, will be easy in comparison to implementing similar technological awareness in a neighbouring school which is rigidly streamed, separates pupils by sex for half the timetable, does not allow group methods and has only four BBC micros which are used mainly in geography. Hence learning in one context may not transfer reasonably to another and part of the inspector's professional concern will be to accept that while change should or has to take place, it will vary in kind and in quality with the school. Some changes will be radical, some will take a long time to find acceptance and some will be easily assimilated.

On the basis of this year's experience it is possible to suggest that some common elements will emerge which a number of schools wish to change. These include the introduction of Records of Achievement; Active Tutorial Workshop Approaches; the Development of Personal and Social Skills in pupils; the introduction of a core curriculum open to all pupils to fifth year and which incorporates the eight areas of experience outlined by HMI; detailed liaison and co-operation between final year primary school teachers and their first year secondary counterparts; systematic analysis of current provision in year groups for specific subjects and the development of teacher produced booklets which relate closely to pupils' needs and the school environment; the production of workbooks which take account of pupils' reading levels; the development of specific teaching in study skills; co-operation between departments on assessment and marking procedures; review of public examination entry policy; the reduction of class sizes to allow the same pupils to remain together for practical and academic subjects; the introduction of work experience for all pupils in fifth year; the introduction of consultation with pupils and parents over the programme being offered and finally allowing teachers to discuss and evaluate the whole curriculum in an atmosphere which encourages professional debate.

In conclusion, supporting school improvement provides the inspector with a role which is complex, challenging and exhausting. The inspector should facilitate a substantial range of inservice for all teachers; promote sound models of curriculum review and development; support the principal and senior management in the development of the programme; maintain an objective, informed, national perspective on all aspects of the programme; develop methods of assisting teachers to assess what and how they teach and how children learn; provide, where appropriate, sound models of good practice from other schools; liaise between the school and other educational projects to ensure compatability of approach; assist in the production of resources and teaching units; acknowledge the rate of change which a school can accept; constantly direct the staff to the main task of changing how and what pupils experience in classroom and provide a 'focus of responsibility' for the partnership between teachers, board officers and inspectors.

It is hoped that such a partnership will be effective in supporting school improvement.

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Irish Educational Studies, Vol.8, No.2, 198

THE CASE FOR DEMOCRATIC MANAGEMENT IN SCHOOLS

Kevin Williams

INTRODUCTION

The aim of this paper is to make a case for the involvement of teachers in the management and control of the schools in which they teach. What is being advanced therefore is an argument for the extension of industrial democracy into education by offering to teachers themselves paramount authority for making all decisions which bear on the conduct of the educational enterprise. This argument must not, however, be understood as a claim that teachers should have exclusive voice in school management. Public representatives, parents, and, in particular, pupils themselves have also legitimate claims to be given a voice in the task. But the claims of these groups and the issue of the ultimate control and ownership of schools fall outside the remit of the present discussion. The concern of this discussion is solely with the claims of teachers, as professional educators, to be included in the system of managerial authority within the institutions in which they practise their profession.

Accordingly the target of the critique proposed in this paper is any system of school management which fails to allow teachers a real and significant voice in making decisions within the schools in which they teach. Here I am referring to decisions with regard to appointments, including the appointment of school principal, the allocation of promotions, and the determination and implementation of school policy. Perhaps it should also be pointed out that democratic management, which is the concern of my critique, is not strictly speaking an opposing theory of school management. Rather it is the theory of school management which is assumed in much current practice in contemporary systems of education.[1] In making the case for democratic management in schools the first argument, the educational argument, is presented negatively. By reference to recent sociological research on the issue, it tries to show some of the negative educational effects associated with non-democratic management. The establishment of democratic structures of school management will, it is argued, conduce to the reduction, if not the elimination, of at least some of these negative features of school life. The second part of the paper presents the case for democratic management positively by reference to the moral/political principles involved.

1. THE CASE FOR DEMOCRATIC MANAGEMENT: THE EDUCATIONAL ARGUMENT

Failure to give teachers a direct and real influence in managing the schools in which they work represents on the part of managerial authorities a claim to a monopoly of educational wisdom and such a claim marks a disregard for the professionalism, expertise, and insight of the ordinary teacher. The autocratic version of managerial authority assumes that schools are, in the words of Colin Lacey, "homogeneous institutions" which absorb newcomers, rather than institutions "penetrated by a flow of individuals who hold divergent views as to how the institution should be run, indeed as to what the purpose of the institution is!".[2] Viewed in this light Lacey's findings on the presence of conflict within schools regarding issues of educational principle are hardly surprising. Increasingly, he argues, school is becoming an arena where "opposing definitions of the school compete" where teachers strive to "make the school resemble more closely the kind of place in which the teacher would like to teach".[3] Indeed, as Martin Hammersley and Peter Woods observe, conflict on important issues of principle, although "previously unremarked", is also a feature of other professions and, in particular, of the medical prefession.[4]

Consequently school management conducted in non-democratic terms represents on the part of management either a denial of the reality of such conflict or a refusal to take into account the convictions of teachers on issues of educational principle. In schools where educators themselves are excluded from exercising influence on managerial decisions, these decisions may, for some teachers, represent no more than dictational *fiats* with legal backing. And so it can happen that rather than be associated with particular decisions regarding school policy (for example, forcing pupils to wear uniforms), a teacher may resign from his post and thereby put his economic survival at risk. Indeed Lacey claims that the situation where a teacher will take a stance which will damage his career prospects is, in Britain, becoming more common.[5]

Moreover, I would argue that where school management does not admit of democratic control, the educational enterprise is more likely to be frustrated and subverted. Corraborative evidence of the corrupting effect of autocratic management in schools is to be found in recent research in the sociology of education. In a summary of the findings of his research, *Teachers' Careers and Comprehensive Schooling: An Empirical Study*, G.F. Riseborough, for example, observes that loyalty to the principal's "norms and values" guarantees to staff "future career success in and out of the school".[6] This means according to a teacher in Riseborough's case-study, that a young teacher who hopes to win promotion "has to conform" to these "norms and values" and to give "loyalty" to the principal "no matter what kind of head he is".[7] In the school in Riseborough's case-study (and this school could hardly be considered untypical) career success is related to commitment to the values of the principal, rather than to commitment to a teacher's own deeply held educational values. The studies of Peter Woods likewise show the danger of autocratic school management. In *The Meaning of Staffroom Humour*, Woods shows how failure to conform to the principal's norms can lead to "unbearable conflict".[8] In *Teaching for Survival*, he demonstrates how the principal can use his power to manipulate the school timetable in such a manner as to reward and punish staff members. Favoured teachers are given extra free time, whereas "disloyal" or "rebellious" teachers get difficult classes, "poor rooms and over-loaded timetables".[9] This theme of the importance of the individual teacher's personal relationship with the school principal in determining his/her working conditions is also brought out in the research of S. Ball and C. Lacey.[10] This is the view expressed by one of the teachers interviewed who observes that a teacher's working conditions within a school in respect of "resources, time-table, and the lot" depend on his "relationship with the head".[11]

At this point I should emphasize that the terms of the argument being proposed are also inimical to more subtle versions of autocratic control. I should equally want to reject those forms of benevolent despotism whereby those in authority exploit the rhetoric of consensus to secure the consent of teachers to decisions already taken. This occurs where opportunity for discussion is offered as a mechanism to give a democratic veneer to autocratic management. For example, in his case-study Contrastive Rhetoric and Extremist Talk, Andy Hargreaves shows how the principal and his assistant use the resources of rhetoric to win acceptance of their views from the rest of the staff.[12] This he calls "contrastive rhetoric" and it involves presenting "stylized and trivialized images of alternative practices" to deride views which differ from those of management and to ensure that the point of view of management prevails.[13] Use of this rhetoric by those in authority is "a major part of their strategic repertoire"[14] in defining, securing, and maintaining group consensus. In this way school authorities maintain managerial hegemony over decision making within the school.[15]

Although the central concern of my argument is with the right of teachers to be involved in school management, here I would like to refer to those research findings which indicate that the attitude of some teachers towards offers of increased participation in school management is ambivalent, and even negative. What I want to suggest is that the attitudes of these teachers may in part be explained by their scepticism regarding the motives of managerial authorities. It may well be that at least some of the teachers in question perceive the offers of increased participation as disingenuous, as a mere ploy to engage their consent to decisions in which they do not ever see themselves as having a real voice.

Next I wish to examine a further negative feature of schools with non-democratic management which emerges in research, and that is the prevalence of conflict of interests between management and staff. In his case-study at Lowfield, for example, Peter Woods finds that the principal and his/her assistants have a commitment to the institutional structure of the school "of a completely different degree and order from (that of) the rest of the staff".[16] On the part of school management Woods finds a preoccupation with "appearances", that is, with "the public image of the school".[17] This concern with the public image of the school is also noted by G.F. Riseborough who, for example, communicates this preoccupation in the words of a school principal: "We've got to make sure our image is good".[18] The research of neither writer makes reference to any concern on the part of managerial authorities with the promotion of the values of sound educational practice within their schools.

In this context it is hardly surprising that Andy Hargreaves finds that concern for classroom teachers is less with the quality of their pedagogy than with "the grim business of psychological survival" and with the development to this end of appropriate "coping strategies".[19] Woods also finds that survival is "the organizing principle in the teacher's day".[20] By survival he means that struggle of teachers "to get less work and more resources than average" because, he observes, "without doubt the very worst thing that can happen to you in a state secondary school" is to get "more work and less resources than average".[21] Indeed so significant and pervasive a feature of teaching life has this preoccupation become that we find D.C. Lortie describe an American sociologist of education as "a serious student of "teacher survival".[22]

Where school management is conducted without teacher participation, it is at least understandable that teachers should come to see survival as their priority consideration. Where teachers are excluded from school decision making, the values of good educational practice will hardly be their main concern. Moreover, in the context of autocratically managed schools, there is also a danger that a teacher's identity as a trade unionist will come to assume exclusive importance in his/her professional life. Of course, it is true that, however a school is managed, a teacher may experience conflict of interests between his/her interests as an employee/trade union member and his/her role as an educator. (Such conflicts of interest are also experienced by nurses and hospital doctors.) The introduction into schools of democratic management structures will not eliminate such potential conflicts - any more than it will end rivalry and competition among teachers. The burden of my argument here is simply that these negative features of school life will tend to be reduced or minimized in democratically managed institutions. This is because democratic management will serve to promote identification of the teacher with the genuinely educational purposes of the school. Accordingly, therefore, the inclusion of educators themselves in the management of schools will serve to promote good educational practice.

As a final point in the educational argument, we might also hope that democratically managed schools would serve to improve the morale of those who teach in them. Participation in such management structures may well contribute to the reduction of some of the career frustration which according to recent research, characterizes teaching as a profession.[23] Where teachers have a genuine voice in the determination of educational policy, the "disengagement"[24] from the job, which according to Lortie is characteristic of certain teachers, might be reduced. This "disengagement", which characterizes male teachers who fail to win promotion, takes the form of reduced commitment to teaching and increasing involvement in ancillary careers or hobbies. Clearly any arrangement which may serve to provide against such personally, professionally, and educationally destructive "disengagement" should at least be tried. It may be that the institution of democratic structures of school management will represent such an arrangement.

2. THE CASE FOR DEMOCRATIC MANAGEMENT: THE MORAL ARGUMENT

This takes us to the more positive aspect of the argument, namely the moral grounds for advocating democratic management in schools. Essentially the moral argument relates to a view of the nature of authority. I want to argue that the moral character of an exercise of authority is based on the presence of consent on the part of those subject to its jurisdiction to the authority in question. The argument advanced derives therefore from the general principle that the consent of the obligated is necessary for authority to assume moral status. (The question of the application of this principle to the teacher pupil relationship is obviously an important one. However, it cannot be explored within the remit of this paper.) Where consent is not made a condition of authority, then we are not speaking of moral authority, but of the exercise of power, or of purely formal or legal authority. Accordingly, it is the presence of consent which serves to distinguish moral authority both from the mere exercise of power and from legal or formal authority.

With regard to the distinction between authority and the exercise of power, the existence of power cannot be the condition of the recognition of authority. This is because recognition of authority is the acknowledgement of the moral right to make demands, and the exercise of power alone can in itself neither compel nor procure the recognition of a demand as moral. The legal authority of an office holder must likewise be distinguished from his moral authority. Legal authority derives from appointment to the office of authority in terms of whatever procedures are recognized by a country's system of law. Possession of legal authority, however, does not confer moral status on the demands made by the holder of an office of managerial authority. This is because legal authority alone says nothing about the consent of those subject to the demands of such authority. The legal status of the demands made on his staff by a school principal has no more bearing on the moral status of these demands than it has on the moral character or quality of substantive demands. Just as the morality or otherwise of substantive demands (on, for example, the use of corporal punishment or the use of streaming) must be determined in terms of their conformity with particular moral principles, the moral authority to make demands must be determined by reference to the presence or otherwise of consent on the part of those subject to these demands to their authoritative status.

And here it should be noted that the acceptance by teachers of appointments in schools which are managed in a non-democratic fashion must not be taken to signal their moral acceptance of the form of managerial authority in accordance with which they are appointed. Obviously, individuals who wish to teach within a particular jurisdiction have to accept the managerial system which applies within it. They have little choice in the matter. Accordingly compliance with the demands of the holder of managerial authority within a school must be distinguished from the acceptance of moral obligation to comply with such demands. At this point we should recall the distinction between obligation which is the counterpart of authority, and mere obedience which is not. In one sense obedience refers to our compliance with a demand from motives of fear and, used in this sense, the term belongs to the language of power and not to that of morality. We use the term obedience in this sense when we speak of a conscript obeying his military superior, a backbencher, against his own convictions, obeying the party whip, a servant obeying his master, or of an employee obeying a foreman or manager. It is in this sense that the term obedience applies to the situation of a teacher who complies with the demands of school management solely from fear of losing his job if he fails to do so. Compliance with a demand therefore does not necessarily entail an acceptance of obligation in that a teacher may obey an order issued by his principal without acknowledging the authority of the principal to put him under obligation.

Now this is not to suggest that to be democratic all decisions within a school require the consent of all the teachers. (Indeed the very choice of the individual or individuals who are to hold managerial authority is unlikely to secure this kind of unanimity.) What democratic management means is a system of exercising authority in which all who are subject to its decisions have a voice - whether or not on occasion they may or may not agree with substantive decisions. Whether or not an individual teacher personally agrees with a particular feature of school policy (for example, a prohibition on smoking within the school premises) does not in itself constitute a denial of its moral authoritativeness nor does it signal a refusal to be obligated and thereby to comply with the rule by refraining from smoking. The moral authority of the rule in question derives from the consent of those subject to it to the procedures whereby it was enacted. If therefore we accept and take seriously the necessary relationship between moral authority and the consent of the obligated, then we must accept the centrality of consent on the part of those who teach to the authority of those who manage the educational engagement. It is only through their consent to managerial authority that we can ascribe obligation to those who are subject to it.

At this point it is appropriate to raise another aspect of the moral argument for democratic management in school. This concerns the role of the school in the promotion of political education. It seems manifestly inconsistent for school authorities to preach the values of political involvement in the life of the community in an institutional context which refuses not only to the pupils, but to teachers themselves, a significant voice in the management of the educational enterprise. If schools are to have credibility in initiating young people into the democratic way of life, then schools themselves should be democratic institutions. Maintaining such credibility means that schools will have to be institutions in which rules and policy are, and can be seen to be, the outcome of democratic procedures. The initiation of young people into the values of democratic participation should be conducted in an institutional framework which is itself informed and sustained by these values.

CONCLUSION

The principle argument in support of democratic management in schools is the moral one. This argument is based on the relationship between the moral character of an exercise of authority and the presence of consent on the part of those subject to its jurisdiction to the authority in question. This moral argument is supplemented by an educational argument. By reducing some of the educationally negative effects associated with autocratic management in school, it is argued that democratic management will promote better educational practice. Let me stress in conclusion that democratic management in our schools is not proposed as an educational panacea. What I am arguing is that democratic management within schools will tend to foster the spirit appropriate to the educational endeavour. The fraternal spirit compatiable with the concept of education as a co-operative enterprise is more likely to be found in schools where educators themselves have a genuine voice in the management of the enterprise.

Nevertheless, I am aware that the arguments advanced in this paper may appear naive, idealistic, and just plain silly. To robust, busy bureaucrats they probably do. But to anyone concerned with the quality of our education and of our democratic way of life, I would hope that they do not.

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Irish Educational Studies, Vol.8, No.2, 19

CAN WE DO CREATIVE WORK IN OUR SCHOOLS?

Jacquie Campbell

INTRODUCTION

In the Curriculum and Examinations Board document entitled In Our Schools the word 'creativity' is mentioned 18 times between pages 8 and 33.[1] This would seem to suggest, in the Irish context at least, that promotion of creativity is viewed very positively. Unfortunately the authors of the document, In Our Schools, provide no content to the term and use it rather loosely. So what does this word mean and how is it to be understood in the education process specifically?

It is the argument of this paper that creativity is a vital part of life. To be creative is to exercise my individuality, to put my stamp on, and to make my contribution to, the culture I live in. To a greater or lesser degree, such creativity is within the reach of all.

The word 'creativity' has provoked two principal reactions: firstly, to use David Best's terminology,[2] there is that of the 'objectivist' teachers who hand down knowledge from on high without involving their students or valuing their students' personal responses; secondly, there is that of the 'subjectivists' who are so immersed in the personal experiences of their students that they fail to see the need for objective criteria of any kind. Whilst I am aware that these characterizations represent extremes, I shall show in this paper that such extremes exist and that what we need to do is to establish a more balanced appreciation of what appears to be a radically confused term. To this end I propose to examine in some detail the standard philosophical analysis of the term by John P. White,[3] highlighting the strengths of his argument and exposing some of its weaknesses. I shall use the work of other educational theorists to criticise White's view and, in conclusion, I shall suggest a tentative way forward through the "*embarras de richesse* of nebulous terms"[4] which abound in the discussion on creativity, to a more balanced characterization of the concept. To evaluate this more balanced understanding of creativity I hope to apply it, albeit briefly, to the area of religious education.

Creativity: The Objectivist Account

The thrust of White's account of creativity lies in his denial that the term describes an inner, psychological process. He states that 'creative" is an evaluative term and that "therefore 'creative' is not a peculiar type of thinking which has different, non-publicly observable features". The term, according to White, "picks out not something about a person's inner processes but about what she/he publicly produces."[5]

White continues his analysis by stating that "'creative' is a medal we pin on public products, not the name of private processes".[6] The word 'medal' implies a publicly acknowledged achievement and certainly for White one's product is creative insofar as it conforms to public standards. For example, if I make a mathematical discovery which is lauded by colleagues and critics in the world of mathematics then my 'product' can be labelled 'creative'. However, if a child, some time later, is led towards rediscovering my mathematical rule for herself, that child's discovery cannot be called creative for it is valuable only for herself but not valuable within the field of mathematics. Such is the working-out of White's definition. For him then a product to be considered creative must be publicly recognised as having "intellectual or aesthetic value".[7] This value is judged by objective criteria and not simply by reference to subjective standards.

This stress on public standards is consonant with a particular concept of education, stated here by P. Hirst and R.S. Peters.

> There can be no experience or knowledge without the acquisition of the relevant concepts. Further it is only when experience and thought involve (concepts) shared in a public world, that the achievements with which we are concerned are possible. 8

These writers also stress the necessity of "objective tests for what is claimed, known and understood".[9] We need to ask how appropriate standards are to be discerned and who is to discern them. The emphasis in White's article is upon "public products", "publicly acknowledged achievement","professional techniques", "conventional standards", and "publicly observable" results. This orientation may be further illustrated in R.S. Peters' statement that "the teacher's task is to get children to delight in creating things that conform to the appropriate standards".[10] However, I would want to suggest that the primary goal must be to enable children to delight in creating and that an over-emphasis on standards can be very restrictive in the area of creativity. Later we can worry about 'appropriate standards' because by then the student will have gained sufficient self-confidence in his/her ability to be creative; then public standards will be more likely to encourage, rather than to stifle.

White's acknowledgement of the role of knowledge and standards in the creative endeavour is commendable; we need standards if we are to avoid vagueness and aimlessness. However, we cannot afford to stress standards to the extent that we suffocate or stifle the creativity of those who have hardly begun to delight in creation. As individuals in a society with a long tradition, we need knowledge and objective criteria but not knowledge which is deified out of reach or knowledge which is impervious to re-creation. It is never enough to merely pass on knowledge. We need freedom to engage creatively with the tradition we are part of. This is a point I shall return to.

White understands creativity as the production of works of publicly acknowledged value. This necessarily leads him to the conclusion that creativity is the preserve of the minority. Because he sees creativity as being beyond the grasp of the mass, he is led to consider whether it is any part of the educator's task to make space for creative endeavour at all. He lists three values emanating from creative activity in education, and he adds that these values are not necessarily educational.[11]

a) it can be therapeutic
b) it can be enjoyable
c) it can serve as an initiation into the aesthetic domain.

Accordingly, we can see that in White's terms, creative activity is only of peripheral value in education. However, I would want to say, with John Wilson,

> That there is some general power of the mind, creativity, which needs encouragement in children, and not just because we have to encourage it if they are to produce meritorious work, or because we want them to 'find relief from their anxieties' or to have a good time. 12

There are some theorists who emphasise the importance of developing the receptive potential of the student, sometimes to the extent of ignoring the creative/expressive potential. Such people urge the necessity of formal studies. White himself talks about the necessity of "getting inside the relevant discipline", stating that creative work presupposes a "rigorous initiation" into the discipline in question.[13] Mary Warnock sees aesthetic development as primarily the training of critical and receptive sensitivities. She writes,

> I do not believe there is anything uniquely valuable in getting children to write or draw things which are to be original. On the contrary, they may be deprived if they are not encouraged to read and look at the works of other people. 14

Now the burden of the argument advanced in this paper is that creative activity is much more centrally relevant to the educational endeavour than White realises.

Before suggesting why creativity is centrally relevant in education I would like to consider those whose concept of creativity is opposed to the objectivist account outlined above.

Creativity: The Subjectivist Account

At the beginning of his article on creativity White offers a fairy-story about creativity, which is "frequently to be found in educational writing". He attributes this fairy-tale, outlined below, to the subjectivist view:

> a) Creativity is a power of our unconscious mind which functions mysteriously,
>
> b) It is a power that all are born with, perhaps in varying degrees,
>
> c) Creative power will thrive on spontaneous exercise but wither away if unchecked. 15

The subjectivists, therefore, believe that every person is born with creative potential. An extreme example of this belief would be that of D.W. Winnicott who states that

> Everything that happens is creative except insofar as the individual is ill or is hampered by ongoing environmental factors which stifle his creative process. 16

Winnicott fails to take account of the work and the knowledge that normally precedes creativity; the period of "preparation", to borrow G. Wallas' term.[17] Edmund Sinnott suggests that the ultimate source of the creative innate in all people is "the inherent creativeness of life".[18] For M. Jeffreys, "the contradictoriness of human nature, our perpetual frustration and divine discontent ... is the source of ... all our creative achievements".[19] It would appear that, for Jeffreys, the restlessness common to all is the wellspring of creativity. John Platt suggests a similar idea, stating that there is an absolute necessity

> throughout our waking life for a continuous novelty and variety of external stimulation of our eyes, ears, sense organs and all our nervous network... New experience is not

> merely a childish want; it is something we cannot do without. 20

He seems to be suggesting that the desire for stimulation experienced by all human beings gives rise to a creative potential in all. It is the task of education to enable people to channel their desire for stimulation in creative directions.

Working on this principle, that all people have creative potential, subjectivist educators advocate, to borrow White's terms, "free activity" and "freedom from conventional rules". For example,

> In the freedom and variety of their personal expressions... all children become creative. 21

and

> The opportunity for the child to create constantly with his present knowledge is the best preparation for future creative action. 22

It would seem therefore that the subjectivists ignore the fact that preparation and immersion into a discipline usually precedes worthwhile creativity, a point made by many writers, the most often quoted being Pasteur's "Fortune favours the prepared mind". Therefore while J.P. White's over-emphasis on public standards could strangle creativity, giving children endless and undirected freedom could have the same undesirable effect.

Towards a Coherent Concept of Creativity

I have stressed in this paper that there is a need for balance: balance between predetermined knowledge and spontaneous creative expression, between assimilation into a culture and the individual's contribution to that culture, between public standards and incomprehensibly subjective work. For an endeavour to balance these two contrasting accounts of creativity the following definition suggests itself.

> Creativity refers to a sensitive, personally wrought response whereby the person not only makes the content his/her own, but also puts his/her own individual stamp on it and thereby discovers new possibilities.

This creativity is a result of engagement - not a casual fling or a brief encounter but a long term, meaningful relationship. Such a relationship, to continue the metaphor, often gives birth to creative offspring.

To develop this understanding of creativity further I propose to examine it in relation to religious education and to do this I shall use the levels of creativity established by Irving Taylor.[23]

1. Expressive Creativity: At this level the student makes spontaneous comments, based on relatively little work on the topic in question; in this instance, images of God. Such comments are the product of experience, acculturation and speculation, and while of little creative value are expressive of the beginnings of an interest in the area.
2. Productive Creativity: Deeper immersion in the area enables the student to make more "controlled" statements, based on growing knowledge and reflection. The student's vision of images of God is becoming more penetrating and the older, established ideas are being more critically examined. At this level the creative product is still not unique.
3. Inventive Creativity: The student becomes more inventive in his/her imaging of God, sensing new relationships between previously unrelated ideas. For example, the linking of God and mother and the

implications of this for Church/societal structure; perhaps not new to all but possibly new to the student and more satisfying than predominantly patriarchal pictures of the past.

4. *Innovative Creativity* involves a modification in the basic foundation of a particular field of knowledge - the student would need to make a creative discovery which would modify church or society's way of expressing its image of God.
5. *Emergentative Creativity* is the level of genius where the product wrought is in its most fundamental and revolutionary form, Jesus' imaging of God?

White fixates on the final two levels, innovative and emergentative, and does not acknowledge the existence of the first three. Thus for White creativity is for an elite who can reach the dizzy heights while the creative clamourings below go unobserved. It is my contention that each level is of value in itself. Taylor's scheme enables

a) a clearer understanding of the multi-levelled notion of creativity and,

b) it enables one to overcome the two extremes; elitism, and undiscriminating application of the term creativity.

In conclusion I shall repeat the point I began with; that is, the belief that the potential to be creative exists in all people and is evident in the urge of all organic/human life to "expand, extend, develop and mature".[24] If we wish to awaken this creative impulse we must avoid instilling in students the idea that everything is already known,[25] the idea that they must follow the acknowledged experts and cannot forge their own way of perceiving reality. Education should enable people to learn about and to reflect upon the "rich tradition"[26] they inherit but education must also allow people to find their own voice, to make their own creative contribution to that tradition. Such education would be a redemptive experience which would encourage the individual to develop himself/herself still further.

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Irish Educational Studies, Vol.8, No.2, 198

THE MYTH OF ILLIBERALITY: EDUCATIONAL THEORY AND CURRICULUM PRACTICE IN PRE-VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

Gerry McNamara

INTRODUCTION

The economic recession of the past decade, and the rapid growth of youth unemployment which has followed in its wake, have resulted in a plethora of educational initiatives throughout the European Community. These initiatives and the theoretical framework which underpins them are often collectively referred to in educational literature as 'pre-vocationalism', 'new vocationalism' or 'transition theory'. Recently, they have become the target of scathing criticisms by certain educationalists, who see them as representing an attack on fundamental educational ideals. The ideals which are said to be under threat are often not very clearly defined, but the burden of the attack can be summarised as follows: Education ought to be about knowledge and values, which are worthwhile in their own right, but pre-vocationalism seeks to subvert this process by linking schooling to instrumental purposes, particularly preparation for employment. For this reason, the argument goes, pre-vocationalism is narrow, restrictive, devisive and illiberal. In this paper, I wish to argue that a great deal of such criticism is misplaced. Specifically, I hope to demonstrate that the charge of illiberality is, both in terms of the educational theory and curriculum practice of pre-vocational education, largely a myth.

The Critics' Case

> As I try to make sense of the pre-vocational initiatives I am involved with both at

> national and local level and as I evaluate four of the TVEI schemes and see significant things happening to the students in terms of motivation, attitudes, learning and personal qualities, I begin to question this crude dichotomy, this analysis of liberalism and of vocationalism... which does not enable us to make sense of significant developments.[1]

This rather bewildered response by Professor Richard Pring to a wave of fierce attacks on pre-vocational education initiatives in Great Britain reflects my own incomprehension of similar strictures from Irish educationalists. A number of examples will suffice to indicate the depth of the hostility which such initiatives are arousing. A recent seminar of the Philosophy of Education Society of Great Britain resulted in the publication of Skills and Vocationalism. The Easy Answer, a collection of papers critical of what is described as "the current doctrine of skills and vocationalism which is almost meaningless for education".[2] In his contribution, Bernard Barker, for example, alleges that pre-vocational education "simply means giving some children more of what they seem to like, ,e.g. craft, work experience, button pressing and the barely concealed implication is that books should be abandoned altogether on the grounds that reading is difficult". He concludes that such courses are merely "a retreaded package for slow learners".[3] Another contributor, Maurice Holt, believes that "despite the ambiguity of its jargon, it is a hard-headed attempt to make compulsory education respond to industry's needs at the expense of personal development".[4]

In Ireland, criticisms in a similar vein were offered in a paper entitled "Education for the Labour Market - A Critique", presented at the 1987 Annual Conference of the E.S.A.I. by Peggy Geraghty.[5] The paper suggested that this type of course - I presume the Vocational Preparation and Training Programme since this is the only pre-vocational course available on a wide scale in schools in the Irish Republic - is of "negligible educational value" and that the English language component of such courses largely consists in learning "how to write applications for jobs, or to fill in CVs or write letters of complaint." In general, the curriculum offered is alleged to be tedious and destructive of curiosity and imagination, creativeness and craftsmanship.

As a teacher closely involved for nearly a decade both in developing and teaching pre-vocational curses. I regard such criticism with deep concern. Does it mean that those of us who work in this area and share our experience with others through teacher centres, articles and so on are engaged in activities subversive of true educational ideals? Have we been taken in by jargon and brainwashed by the market economy theories of monetarism and the "more bang for your buck" school of educational thought? Are we mistaking genuine education for mere job training and turning our schools into processing agencies animated by crackpot theories about the plentiful availability of work if only young people were properly prepared for it? Perhaps so, but I doubt it.

In my view, the explanation lies in the readiness of some educational theorists to take what they first criticise as ambiguous jargon and then proceed to invest it with very definite interpretations. These invariably appear to prove its negative, dangerous and implausible nature. This approach is inadequate and misleading for three related reasons. Firstly, it implies that 'pre-vocationalism', 'new vocationalism', 'transition theory', or whatever you prefer to call it, is a monolithic set of doctrines invented in the mid-seventies which has remained fixed like some immutable law ever since.

Secondly, it implies that phraseology such as "preparing young people for adult and working life", which is to be found throughout the literature on pre-vocational education, and which is of course imprecise enough to mean anything, can only be interpreted in one way - as "narrow and divisive vocationalism". Finally, and most importantly, it implies that curriculum practice - what the schools and teachers on the ground are actually doing - conforms with the analysis of the underlying educational theory which is offered. In other words, the critics argue, if the theory does in fact represent narrow vocationalism, it follows that the programme in the schools will be unimaginative, stultifying and educationally useless. In my view, there are difficulties with each of these assumptions and I propose to look at them separately to make these more explicit.

The Changing Theory of Pre-Vocational Education

The economic recession and resultant explosion in youth unemployment which occurred in the mid 1970s saw the beginning of a series of major investments in pre-vocational education. For example, in 1977, the European Commission established a major programme of pilot projects throughout the Community on the theme "transition from education to working life".[6] In Great Britain, Prime Minister Callaghan's 1976 Ruskin College speech, which castigated schools for their alleged failure to prepare young people adequately for industrial employment, was followed by a number of major pre-vocational initiatives such as the Schools Council Industry Project and Unified Vocational Preparation. In the Irish Republic, the same trend became apparent with the introduction of pre-employment and career foundation programmes in 1977 and further similar initiatives in later years.

All these developments were informed by the same underlying assumptions. The growth of youth unemployment, it was assumed, was at least partly caused by a lack of skills and motivation among school leavers. If this could be rectified by more 'relevant" education with an emphasis on practical and vocational skills, the less academically able - whose traditional outlet into non skilled manual labour was gone, probably for ever - would become the workforce of the new industries in such fields as electronics and information technology. All this was, of course, nonsense and was clearly revealed as such whenever increasing vocational preparation provision was matched only by ever increasing youth unemployment. In fact, the credentialist pressure of the recession left the low ability pupil even worse off then before in the race for jobs.[7]

In response to this overwhelming evidence that the notion of preparing young people for work, in the traditional sense, was becoming increasingly obsolescent and even irrational, there began an inevitable shift of emphasis among curriculum developers and teachers of vocational preparation courses. One typical redefinition of purpose in a pre-vocational initiative is described by Stronach and Weir in the Final Evaluation Report of the Clydebank European Transition Pilot Project, which ran from 1979-1983.[8] The project began with the then usual emphasis on "improving employability and meeting the needs of employers". This was to be achieved through what the evaluators defined as a "requirements intensive curriculum model" stressing preparation for work and, therefore, involving a course dominated by "work related basic skills".[9] By 1980, it was possible to detect a significant change - a "growth of uncertainty over basic project goals" as the project team "confronts a dilemma - transition from school to what?" However, even at that stage, the course titles were "still heavily work oriented".[10] Finally, by 1981/82, the redirection of goals had assumed a definite character. "The centrality of personal development had emerged more clearly" and the evolving curriculum is defined in 1981 by Stronach and Weir as follows:

> Here for the first time was the embryonic "me" curriculum with its stress on self-worth, self-realisation and personal development. If work could not act as a curricular foundation then the "self" would have to do. [11]

It is clear that the Clydebank project reacted to the economic crisis by slowly evolving from a preparatory work rationale to a personal development theme. The Evaluation Report concludes that this process was widely paralleled in similar initiatives elsewhere and in fact represents a contemporary social theorem: "that high unemployment leads to the extention of vocational preparation and that vocational preparation becomes personal development in consequence of the paradoxes it faces."[12]

Supporting evidence for this theorem is to be found throughout the transition literature and practice of the early and mid 1980s. For example, the aims and objectives of the first European Transition Programme, entitled "From Education to Working Life", were dominated by work related themes - work experiences, mini-company projects, vocational guidance, modes of assessment designed to provide more information for employers and so forth. Social education, personal development, the encouragement of the imagination and creativity (except in the entrepreneurial sense) received little attention. However, in the objectives of the Second European

Transition Programme 1983-87, significantly entitled "From Education to Adult and Working Life", there is a noticeable shift in emphasis. Work experience often becomes community service, the mini-cooperative is more widespread than the mini-company and personal development and "schools and social action" become accepted as thematic areas for experimentation.[13]

This tendency towards a fundamental reappraisal of the goals and methods of pre-vocational education is even more noticeable in the changing emphasis of the individual projects in each programme. The first programme project concentrated largely on work experience schemes, school/industry links, vocational guidance and the like, whereas the second programme projects include many that are more concerned with social, as opposed to vocational, themes.[14] In Berlin, for example, the first project was designed to improve the vocational guidance available to early school levers. The second, however, was very different, involving the development of a youth culture centre aimed at "using painting, music and theatre to stimulate young people's self confidence".[15] A key theme in many second programme projects was concentration on community service of one type or another. In the Northamptonshire project, for example, the emphasis was on personal development, through involving the students in various schemes to help the aged and the handicapped, and the encouragement of leisure interests in the form of outdoor pursuits such as hill walking or restoration work with a steam railway preservation society.[16] Other second transition programme projects throughout Europe stressed such themes as environmental pollution, traditional dancing and the study of Asian societies and cultures.

In Ireland, the trend has been similar. Each of the six EEC pilot projects in the Republic, together with parallel initiatives in Cork, Tipperary and Donegal and the TRAWL EEC project in Northern Ireland, has focussed to a greater or lesser extent on the themes of social education and personal development.[17] Even in policy documents and official circulars concerning transition and vocational preparation courses in schools, there has been a softening in the vocational emphasis. For example, the original aim of the pre-employment courses introduced in the late 1970s was that of "bridging the gap between the values and experiences normally part of traditional education and those current in the adult world of work".[18] By 1986, the Curriculum and Examinations Board was expressing the view that all senior cycle provision should be "distinguished by the centrality of the personal and social development of each individual student" and that "transition programmes should not have a narrow vocational focus or job-placement thrust."[19]

The rise of the 'me' curriculum as Stronach and Weir term it has, therefore, been a significant and widespread phenomenon in pre-vocational education in the 1980s. A detailed analysis of both the emerging theoretical framework and the practical implementation of a personal development curriculum is, however, a major task in its own right and lies beyond the scope of this paper. Readers interested in studying the implications of this approach should consult recent important works by Jim McKernan and Richard Pring.[20]

Interpretation of Pre-Vocational Theory

I would not wish to argue that this shift from primarily vocational considerations to a greater concern for personal development has been either complete or unambiguous. For example, notwithstanding the quotations above, the CEB elsewhere asserts that vocationally oriented programmes such as VPTP "have training for jobs as a principal aim".[21] Or, again, as Holt points out, many of the stated aims and much of the content of the TVEI in the UK are couched in a vocationalist terminology which appears uncompromising. To illustrate this point, Holt italicises the objectionable sections. For example, "the balance between the general technical and vocational elements of programmes should vary according to students' individual needs and the stage of the course, but throughout the programme there should be both a general and *technical/vocational element*". Or again, "they should provide four year curricula with progression from year to year *designed to prepare the student for particular aspects of employment* and for adult life in a society liable to rapid change."[22]*Touche*! Or is it? Suppose one were to italicise different sections of each of the above aims - for example, "*designed to prepare for ... adult life in a society liable to rapid change*", or *"balance between the general technical and vocational elements of programmes should vary according to students' individual needs"* - would not the emphasis be rather different?

The point I am getting at is that such aims or criteria are, in the words of Richard Pring, "broad indeed". They allow, as he insists, for "a range of interpretations but in no way can they be construed as narrowly vocational or indeed illiberal".[23] In this, Pring is wrong to the extent that they can be so construed as Holt et al prove, but he is right in the sense that they need not *necessarily* be so construed. In my own view, they could, in common with most of 'transition education theory", be interpreted to mean more or less what the practitioner in the school wants them to mean.

In the final analysis, the shifting emphasis of vocationalism or transitionism and the vagueness of many of the concepts and ideas which underpin it mean that it is only through a detailed examination of individual projects, courses and schemes that any sensible criticisms can be made. It was and is teachers who are left to put flesh on such vague theories. Pleased to be free for once from the confines of a closely defined academic curriculum, and given the opportunity to provide something of value to categories of students long neglected in the education system, teachers have in my experience responded by and large in an imaginative and educationally defensible manner. A closer look at the curriculum practice as opposed to the educational theory of pre-vocationalism will not in my view substantiate charges of illiberality.

Curriculum Practice in Pre-Vocational Education

The existence of considerable disjunction between the practice in schools and the rhetoric in government circulars is recognised even by opponents of vocationalism. McCullock, for example, asserts that "whether or not TVEI is maintained in its present form, the narrow and divisive vocationalism of the early rhetoric will continue to be undermined in favour of a broader vision".[24] The implication is that it is the aspirations and values of schools and teachers which are crucial in determining how a theoretical idea is applied in practice. Pring makes the same point: "the original idea has been shaped and given substance within particular educational traditions and by groups of teachers".[25]

But how do we know that teachers are using this freedom to interpret the theory in a liberal and imaginative way? The answer as I have already indicated can only be established through analysing individual courses. However, where such analysis has been undertaken, the indications appear positive. My own research into the European Community Transition Programmes, for example, has, as I have mentioned, encountered an array of interesting and imaginative projects which, despite existing in a vocationally oriented milieu, have succeeded in establishing personal development as a central theme. The Irish projects in the First and Second Transition Programmes provide a very good example,[26] so also do the social and personal education programmes produced by various other curriculum projects in Ireland and referred to in footnote 17. Another indication that teachers' hearts are as it were in the right place is provided by Whyte, Kilpatrick and McIlheney in a study of the Northern Ireland Youth Training Programme.[27] They found that "a ... majority of all tutors, instructors and supervisors named personal and social skills as the most important area of need of trainees".[28]

Thirdly and finally, I would offer in evidence my own experience in developing and teaching a vocational preparation course in a fairly average community/ comprehensive school in Dublin. The programme, although based on broad Departmental guidelines issued in 1977 and revised in 1984, was to a remarkable degree shaped by the attitudes and skills of the staff involved. It would be tedious to rehearse every aspect of the resulting curriculum but a look at one or two areas might serve to rebut specific charges.

For example, English is all filling in forms, we are told, but the Communications syllabus devised for this particular programme included, as well as functional literacy, creative writing, literature, speech and drama, media studies and Irish studies. Particular emphasis was placed on creative writing, with the pupils first being introduced to a range of literary texts ranging from Spike Milligan and Stan Barstow to J.D. Salinger, and then encouraged to write stories, poetry and playlets of their own. The stories and poems produced were printed in class or school magazines and some of the playlets used as the basis for video or radio programmes acted and produced by the pupils.[29] This interest in creative writing appears to be a common theme in VPTP courses in Dublin with a number of schools now employing writers-in-residence to develop the idea further.

Michael Golby in his interesting and thoughtful contribution to Skills and Vocationalism argues that a vocational drift in secondary education detracts attention from crucial educational goals such as "preparing our children to become good parents, full members of the community, thinking citizens and critical participants in an evolving democracy."[30] This may be so, but yet when one examines the "social studies" and "education for living" elements of the same VPI programme, the following themes are discovered. (1) Adolescence - subdivided into relationships with the adult world, relationships with peers and relationships with the opposite sex; (2) Marriage; (3) Parenthood; (4) Community life; (5) Law; (6) Violence.[31] These major may not be regarded in official circles as the most important themes of the programme, but I would submit that they are nonetheless addressed in a more systematic way than is usual or indeed possible in more traditional academically based curricula. Ironically, therefore, it may well be the case that the educational goals which Golby stresses play a central role in the curricula of the very programmes to which he is opposed.

This is not to say that all such programmes are imaginative and progressive or that teachers produce valuable educational experiences the whole time. In fact, my impression is that the quality of pre-vocational courses varies enormously, a point that is in itself indicative of the relative freedom to exercise initiative enjoyed by the teachers involved. However, the main factors which determine the course quality have much less to do with elaborate theories than with the support and interest of the individual school managements and the educational outlook and methodological skills possessed by the staff. The availability of adequate resources to facilitate labour and material intensive approaches is also a major and growing constraint.

Finally, I do not wish to claim that there is no substance whatever in the type of criticism commonly levelled at pre-vocational education initiatives. In fact, while I believe that I have shown that the specific charge of "narrow and divisive vocationalism" is at least overstated and, in my experience of curriculum practice in schools, is probably unfounded I wish to conclude by briefly acknowledging the validity of two other problems raised. The first is the danger that such programmes aimed by and large at the least able will gradually create a two- or three-tier education system and thus further marginalise their clientele. This is certainly a reasonable point. However, it appears to me to be more a criticism of the educational system in general than of pre-vocational education in particular. What I mean is that as long as governments, parents, universities and other interest groups insist that the majority of pupils undergo a largely academic curriculum there will always be a significant number unable to cope. Since these young people can no longer, due to their economic redundancy, simply leave the system, schools will have to deal with them. The issue then becomes whether one recognises the problem and seeks to develop appropriate curriculum responses which might benefit these young people or simply carries on as before, forcing them into programmes unsuited to their needs. It is a matter of judgement but I personally favour the former course, even with its inherent dangers.

The second danger is one that at present probably applies more in Great Britain than in the Irish Republic but could very well emerge in the latter at some future date. It is that vocationalism and its associated initiatives represents a "centralist bridge" into schools which will eventually allow Government agencies to exercise rigid control over the content of the curriculum throughout the country. Clearly in the context of a determined government motivated by an extreme and deeply anti-educational ideology, the risk that the vague theories of the present might be replaced by more closely defined and strictly enforced doctrines in the future is not to be dismissed. It is somewhat ironic that in the Irish Republic the situation in this regard is reversed with transition education initiatives representing the first relaxation of centralised control since the early years of the State. This threat of greater interference must be guarded against and resisted, but it seems to me to represent a potential future development rather than reflect the present state of affairs as the critics would have us believe.

Conclusion

The charges of illiberality and divisive and narrow vocationalism levelled by critics at pre-vocational educational initiatives are overstated. They fail to take into account three factors. Firstly, the theoratical emphasis informing pre-vocationalism has shifted considerably in recent years from purely instrumental considerations to a recognition of the central importance of personal development and social education. This change of emphasis appears to have gone largely unnoticed by critics. Secondly, the theory of pre-vocational education, even when stated in apparently uncompromising language, tends on closer examination to consist in imprecise phraseology which is open to a wide range of interpretations. Attempts to draw definitive conclusions of illiberality from such imprecise terminology are unwise. Thirdly, the unclear and shifting nature of the underlying theory and the related freedom afforded to teachers mean that actual curriculum practise in pre-vocational initiatives tends to vary greatly. Each course or programme can only be evaluated in any meaningful way through an analysis of its own particular strengths and weaknesses. Where such analysis has taken place, the indications are that, rather than being illiberal and narrow, pre-vocational courses tend to be creatively and imaginatively conceived. Finally, I acknowledge the validity of two criticisms of pre-vocationalism. The first, the danger that such programmes may further marginalise the less able, is, I would argue, offset by the greater danger of ignoring the problems of such pupils. The second, the danger that the most unpalatable aspects of vocationalism might actually be imposed on schools, is real, but one which will, I trust, be resisted as such tendencies have been heretofore by the good sense of school teachers.

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Irish Educational Studies, Vol.8, No.2, 1989

THE CURRICULUM IN SMALL SCHOOLS IN NORTHERN IRELAND AND SCOTLAND

R.L. Caul and J.I. Harbison[1]

INTRODUCTION

This paper describes the curriculum aims of principals of schools with four or fewer teachers in Northern Ireland and Scotland and examines the delivery of the curriculum in terms of the time allocated to different areas. The study is set in the context of what is believed about the curriculum of small schools and suggests its importance in relation to the ratiohalisation of schools and the advent of the National Curriculum.

Since 1978 the future of the small primary school has become increasingly uncertain. Demographic trends coupled with government demand for accountability and value for money in the provision of public services has led to the implementation of a policy of rationalisation.

A substantial body of opinion has developed among administrators that, by virtue their size, small primary schools are inherently disadvantaged both educationally and socially and thus there are sound reasons, besides financial considerations, that schools below a minimum pupil size should be closed. Such a policy was articulated by the Department of Education for Northern Ireland in 1983.

This policy has led to school closure proposals which have resulted in intense arguments between policy makers and parents about the qualities of good primary education. The arguments provide an insight into what people value about the education which schools can offer although the assertions made by both sides are grounded in very little substantive evidence. Most of the argument contains rhetoric rather than information and reflects 'convenience' as opposed to rationality. Relatively little research effort has gone into finding out about education in small primary schools and that which exists tends to depend on anecdotal evidence and emotional response in specific situations and locations.

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[1] The authors acknowledge with gratitude the financial support of the Northern Ireland Council for Educational Research.

Among the criticisms of small primary schools three features emerge as significant. Firstly, it is argued that by virtue of size small schools cannot provide adequately sized peer groups for their children, who consequently suffer socially. Secondly, that the location of small primary schools and the limited size of their teaching staff create conditions of teacher isolation and thirdly, as Bell and Sigsworth (1987) have suggested the major criticism is that small schools cannot provide a curriculum of adequate breadth and balance. This paper considers the latter assertion and reviews curriculum provision in small primary schools in Northern Ireland and in Scotland in the context of the aims of education as perceived by the principals.

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The Plowden and Gittins Reports and Education in Small Primary Schools

The Plowden Report on "Children and their Primary Schools" and the Gittins Report on "Primary Education in Wales" were both published in 1967 and both reported in detail on the small primary school. Both committees deplored the generally poor state of small school buildings in comparison to that of larger urban schools and questioned the cost of effectiveness of small schools due to their necessarily higher teacher pupil ratio. They also expressed concern about the apparent difficulties of recruiting teachers. Gittins suggested that

> Young teachers coming out of colleges of education are increasingly unwilling to accept first posts in isolated rural schools.

It is to be remembered that the period of study of both committees was the 1960s which was a period of teacher shortage. Another difficulty highlighted by the reports was the isolation of teachers in small primary schools who had few colleagues, if any, with whom to exchange ideas and limited opportunities for in-service education.

Plowden and Gittins both directed their attention to the curriculum and were concerned that primary schools should reflect the 1960s thinking on what was considered an appropriate and adequate curriculum for pupils from five to eleven. It was in this sphere that both reports suggested that small primary schools were most disadvantaged. Gittins wrote:

> The goals proposed by modern primary education challenge the limited space and resources of the small school.. Small aspects of the curriculum, such as drama, physical education and expressive movement and science tend to be weak... The opportunity for this kind of co-operation (use of specialist skills) is limited in a small school.

and both committees regarded small primary schools as under-resourced and unable to foster the new emphasis in pupil interaction in view of the small numbers in each peer group and the apparent restricted opportunities for group work. However, the small number of teachers which were available within the school and the assumption that this necessarily restricted the curriculum offered to the pupils caused the greatest concern. Plowden recommended that:

> Schools with an age range of 5-11 should usually have at least three classes each covering two age groups.

and Gittins suggested that the minimum size of a school should be 50 to 60 pupils and three teachers. However, both reports supported the argument for centrally located area schools with a minimum of six teachers.

These recommendations were made despite the fact that neither report produced evidence that small schools actually were inferior in the provision of education to their pupils. Indeed both reports commented favourably on certain aspects of the provision of small primary school such as the lack of streaming and the commitment of the teachers. Gittins rejected any possibility that a small school's inability to arrange its classes in ability groups could be regarded as a defect and Plowden openly acknowledged:

> the devoted work of many village school teachers. Often working alone and with few opportunities for discussion with their colleagues, sometimes heavily handicapped by their buildings, responsible for children of a wider age range than most junior teachers think practicable, they have created schools characterised by warmth, forbearance and an almost family affection.

The Curriculum of the Small Primary School

The source of much information regarding schools is the reports of Her Majesty's Inpectorate. Few of these reports give any indication that the quality of curricular provision is related to the size of the school. In the report on schools in Norfolk, Her Majesty's Inspectors (1984) expressed the view that:

> It is difficult for such small schools (fewer than 60 pupils on roll) with only two or three staff and limited resources, to provide a curriculum of breadth and intellectual stimulation but to their great credit some were managing to do so.

It would appear that size itself may not be the determining factor in curricular provision in small schools. In a report in 1974 on schools in Inverness-shire in Scotland where the remoteness and the sparsity of population make small schools inevitable the Scottish Education Department reported on what was perceived as the success of small schools in providing the basic skills in a curriculum that appear to reflect breadth and balance:

> Pupils are lively, responsive, knowledgeable and industrious and join, regardless of age, in art and craft activities, outdoor expeditions and discussing and writing about subjects of common interest, all without detriment to progress in basic skills. There is no doubt that the atmosphere of intimacy among staff, pupils and parents which exists in the one to four teacher schools is a contributing factor in the success of those which have adopted these desirable approaches to primary education.

Other studies of primary schools have demonstrated that small schools may not always have the difficulty in providing a full curriculum that is commonly suggested. In 1981 Aston University carried out a study of the breadth of curricula in rural schools and concluded:

> The fears often expressed about the limited curriculum of small schools received very little support from the visits... Music, one of the two subjects generally considered difficult to provide for, had good provision in all the schools... Physical Education, the other subject area most often regarded a difficult to provide for, was not seriously restricted.

In a follow up to the ORACLE project Galton et al have investigated the breadth of curriculum in small schools although the results are as yet unpublished the indications are that considerable variation exists between schools themselves and between schools in different local authorities. Sher (1981) in a report on 'Rural Education in Urbanised Nations' for the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development pointed to an inconsistency in research findings:

> There are bits and pieces of evidence that students in rural schools do as well or even slightly better than urban students on basic literacy and mathematical tests. Other reports give the impression that rural student attainment is below average.

However, while these differences have often been attributed to school size Sher has argued that these inconsistencies are due to the way these schools are regarded and the low status attributed to them by myth rather than reality.

Certainly the literature does not provide clear cut evidence that small schools are inferior to larger schools either in the quality of the curriculum provided for the pupils or in the attainment levels of these pupils. Bell and Sigsworth (1987) have suggested that some of the best and some of the worst in primary education provision can be observed in small schools - but likewise in larger schools.

Views on curriculum provision have changed and an increasing emphasis is being placed on using the specific expertise of staff to improve the curriculum throughout the school. Bolton (1985) commented on "Primary Education in England" (HMI 1978) by drawing attention to the apparent need in that report to ensure that "the best uses of the curricular strengths of all the teachers" is made for the benefit of all pupils in a school. "Primary Education in England"suggested that there was a need for written guidelines which would point out clearly demarcated sequences of learning and thereby avoid the fragmentation and repetition that were reported as being common features of the curriculum in many schools. Such guidelines have been published in Northern Ireland by the Northern Ireland Council for Educational Development (1985) in an attempt to provide the framework for curriculum development. The guidelines adopt a theory-practice perspective and by incorporating a school based curriculum attempt to stimulate a school wide discussion of relevant approaches to working with children. This is difficult in a one or two teacher school and Bell and Sigsworth (1987) suggest that this was one of the most serious weaknesses associated with small schools. Additionally they point out that individual curricular guidelines provide an apparently clear indication that specialist teaching should be introduced to the primary school. Campbell (1985) has suggested that the role of the subject specialist in the development of the primary curriculum is gaining increasing significance but in the small school such specialism is impossible and thus it has been argued the curriculum must be inadequate and restricted. However Hoyle (1984) argued that the size, the number of teachers and even sometimes the architectural peculiarities of small schools could lead to greater professional openness and thus a greater exchange of ideas which would encourage development in the curriculum.

Darnell (1981) has pointed out it is an assumption rather than a fact that the urban primary school is the model to which all aspire. The small school does have advantages such as what King (1978) called a "family atmosphere" and curriculum continuity. The Schools Council, (1975) identified the ease with which small schools were able to forge close links with parents as a considerable advantage and Bell and Sigsworth (1987) have commented on the evidence of the flexibility of the curriculum in the small school which often enhances cross-curricularity.

An inevitable feature of small primary schools is that classes contain children whose ages span more than one year. The 1974 "Programme for Primary Schools" (Department of Education (NI)) suggested that this might increase the problem for the teacher in matching the level of difficulty of work to the pupils' capabilities. However Bennett et al (1987) found no significant differences between teachers of single age or mixed age classes in their ability to set work of appropriate levels of difficulty for their pupils. Bell and Sigsworth (1987) have suggested that an age mix in a class together with an extended period of time with one teacher encourages independence in pupils in small schools and a greater ability to organise their own work.

Although it would appear that the evidence available in the literature does not suggest that the case against the small school is in any way conclusive the argument that they offer an educational experience which is in some way deficient is often repeated - and believed. The familiarity of the arguments of limitations of size and restricted curriculum has often made the so called "rationalisation process" easier. While small schools remain the arguments will continue. There are concerns about the ability of the small school to deliver in the climate of increasing subject specialism and in a wider social context which goes beyond closeness of the family unit engendered amongst small numbers working together over an extended period of time. This study attempts to examine curricular issues in small primary schools in Northern Ireland and Scotland by identifying the aims of the principals and investigating the structures and organisation adopted to achieve these aims.

THE STUDY

Methodology

The debates about closing small primary schools have led to feelings of vulnerability on the part of those who teach in small schools and this has led to the myth that small school research must be difficult. It is undoubtedly a sensitive issue and all research in this area must have a concern for those who teach and those who learn in our small schools. This study was an attempt to obtain information which would inform the small school debate within the context of such concern.

Two local authorities, one in Northern Ireland and one in Scotland, were asked for permission to use schools with a teaching principal for the research. Schools considered appropriate by the local authorities were identified and complete confidentiality of information from individual schools was assured. A covering letter and questionnaire was sent to each of the participating schools in March 1987. The letter explained the purpose of the research and sought the co-operation of the principal in completing the questionnaire. The confidentiality of the information was stressed and the name and location of the school was not required unless the principal was willing to be a participant in the follow-up research.

The questionnaire was designed to obtain detailed information about the school in six different areas and allowed additional comment in a seventh section:

1. The teaching staff
2. The school's resources and organisation
3. The aims of the school
4. The curriculum offered to pupils
5. The teaching methods used
6. School-home relationships
7. Additional comment and individual responses.

The Northern Ireland sample was considerably larger than the Scottish sample and at the time of the original analysis in May/June 1987 22 schools (51 per cent) of the former had responded as against 11 (79 per cent) of the latter.

Results

This paper will concentrate on the data obtained on the aims of the schools, the curriculum and the way it was offered to the pupils.

Curricular Aims: Developmental

The principals were asked to rank order a set of developmental aims of the curriculum. These were reflected in the following aspects of development -

aesthetic, emotional, intellectual, moral, physical, social and spiritual. The teachers in the Northern Ireland sample with the exception of one ranked intellectual development as either 1 or 2, thus this aspect of development would seem to be the primary aim of the curriculum in these small schools. Less than half of the principals in Scotland indicated a first preference for intellectual development while social and emotional development were ranked most highly. In Northern Ireland social development most frequently received middle rankings but emotional development was ranked more similarly to the Scottish sample with 64 per cent of principals placing it in the first three rankings.

While aesthetic development, physical and spiritual development were not ranked highly by either sample there was considerable variability in how they were viewed. In Northern Ireland aesthetic development was most frequently ranked seventh (32 per cent) while in Scotland spiritual development was most often in that position (46 per cent). Physical development was either ranked highly at number one (46 per cent) or much lower at number six (27 per cent) in Scotland which in Northern Ireland it was much more frequently given a middle ranking - almost 60 per cent ranked it three, four or five.

TABLE I Percentage rank order developmental curricular aims

	Ranks 1 & 2		Ranks 6 & 7	
	N.I	Scot	N.I	Scot
Aesthetic	15.0	0	45.0	22.0
Emotional	30.0	54.0	15.0	11.0
Intellectual	90.0	44.0	0	11.0
Moral	40.0	11.0	35.0	11.0
Physical	5.0	22.0	30.0	44.0
Social	10.0	67.0	25.0	22.0
Spiritual	10.0	0	50.0	78.0

Curricular Aims: Skills

The principals in both samples regarded reading as the most important curricular skills with over 80 per cent in both groups ranking reading at one or two. In the Northern Ireland sample mathematics was next in importance but this was not so in Scotland where this subject took its place with physical and religious education, general knowledge, art and science as among the least significant of the curricular skills. Writing was the second most important skill in Scotland and was ranked at three, four or five by over 80 per cent of the Northern Ireland sample. In Northern Ireland physical and religious education were most frequently placed in the bottom three ranks with music being ranked similarly by more than half of the principals. It is noteworthy that science was not ranked at one or two by either the principals in Scotland or Northern Ireland and in this was categorised with art, music and religious education.

TABLE II Percentage rank order to skills aims

	Ranks 1 & 2		Ranks 8 - 9	
	N.I	Scot	N.I	Scot
Maths	70.0	11.0	0.0	0.0
Music	0.0	0.0	25.0	44.0
Oracy	30.0	33.0	25.0	11.0
Religious Ed.	0.0	0.0	45.0	55.0
Reading	80.0	88.0	0.0	11.0
Physical Ed.	0.0	11.0	20.0	22.0
Writing	15.0	55.0	0.0	11.0
General Knowledge	5.0	0.0	30.0	33.0
Science	0.0	0.0	10.0	11.0
Art	0.0	0.0	25.0	0.0

Curricular Aims: Personal

The principals in both Northern Ireland and Scotland ranked 'enjoyment at school' as the single most important personal aim for their pupils. It was ranked number one or two by 55 per cent of Scottish principals and by 65 per cent of principals in Northern Ireland. Beyond that agreement there was considerable diversity within and between samples. The ability to make reasoned judgments obtained some importance from both sets of principals while obedience and criticism in the Scottish sample and adaptability and individualism in Northern Ireland were the next most important personal aims.

TABLE III Percentage rank order of personal aims

	Ranks 1 & 2		Ranks 6 - 8	
	N.I.	Scot	N.I.	Scot
Enjoyment of school	65.0	55.0	10.0	0.0
Adaptability	30.0	0.0	10.0	22.0
Reasoned judgments	45.0	33.0	10.0	33.0
Criticism	5.0	44.0	75.0	44.0
Obedience	22.0	33.0	35.0	78.0
Self control	0.0	11.0	0.0	11.0
Individualism	25.0	11.0	25.0	0.0
Inventiveness	10.0	11.0	35.0	11.0

Obedience and self control were not consistently ranked highly and inventiveness and critical ability were ranked by more than two-thirds of the Northern Ireland principals no higher than five.

Curricular Aims: Social Behaviour

There appears to be very little consensus as to the most important aims of the school regarding the social behaviour of pupils. In Northern Ireland it is interesting to note that tolerance was the most consistently ranked quality at one or two (40 per cent) while courtesy was in the first four ranks of more than two-thirds of the principals. In Scotland tolerance was not ranked below rank five and courtesy and kindness were similarly ranked highly with over 90 per cent at rank five or above. Kindness was not judged as important in Northern Ireland. Moral values obtained the highest proportion of first preferences in the Scottish sample.

TABLE IV Percentage rank order of social behaviour

	Ranks 1 & 2		Ranks 8 - 9	
	N.I	Scot	N.I	Scot
Moral Values	35.0	44.0	70.0	0.0
Care of Property	10.0	11.0	15.0	11.0
Tolerance	40.0	22.0	15.0	0.0
Courtesy	10.0	55.0	5.0	11.0
Kindness	20.0	22.0	5.0	0.0
Ability to engage in discussion	30.0	22.0	15.0	89.0
Community responsibility	25.0	11.0	35.0	0.0
Good social mixing	30.0	11.0	25.0	0.0
Forming lasting friendships	0.0	0.0	70.0	89.0

Lasting friendships was ranked by both samples with no principal placing it 1 or 2 and 70 per cent and 89 per cent of principals placing it in ranks 8-9. Community responsibility was not seen as important in Northern Ireland 30 per cent in ranks 8-9, while moral values was similarly ranked by 20 per cent of the sample.

Curriculum

In small schools in Northern Ireland number work (77 per cent), reading (68 per cent) and writing (59 per cent) made up the spine of the curriculum and were allocated more than 15 minutes attention each day. While reading (54 per cent) and number work (64 per cent) were also given more than 15 minutes per day in many Scottish schools writing only received this amount of time per day in 36 per cent of the schools but in 46 per cent it did receive more than 30 minutes per week. Poetry, science and religious education were the subjects in both samples which receive the least attention and have the largest proportion of schools giving them less than 30 minutes per week. In Northern Ireland over 80 per cent of schools gave geography, history, needlework and physical education more than 30 minutes per week while over 90 per cent apportioned this amount of time to music, art and craft.

TABLE V Subjects by time spent in small schools (in percentages)

	15m per day		More than 30m per week		Less than 30m per week	
Subjects	N.I.	Scot	N.I.	Scot	N.I.	Scot
Reading	68	63	32	18	0	9
Writing	59	36	32	45	5	9
Composition	14	18	77	72	5	9
Poetry	5	9	55	27	41	54
Number work	77	63	22	27	0	9
Geography	9	9	86	63	5	9
History	9	9	86	63	5	9
Music	0	0	96	82	5	9
Art	0	9	96	81	5	9
Craft	0	18	96	54	5	18
Science	5	9	64	46	32	27
Needlework	5	9	86	63	9	9
Religious Ed.	36	9	50	54	14	27
Physical Ed.	5	0	86	90	9	0
Others	9	9	27	36	4	0

In Scotland a greater number of subject areas were represented as being given more than 15 minutes per day than in Northern Ireland which perhaps suggests less of an emphasis on a small number of core subjects. A number of the Scottish schools indicated that they taught an integrated curriculum focussing on environmental studies. This approach was not evident in the returns from the Northern Ireland sample.

Discussion

The results from this study would suggest that some interesting and useful information can be obtained about what goes on in schools. The response from both Northern Ireland and Scotland was positive but the samples were small. Larger samples are necessary to increase the validity of the comparisons and to provide a more precise picture of what is happening in schools in Northern Ireland and Scotland. However, a number of interesting perspectives on the small school have emerged and the results, while at this stage purely descriptive, do indicate the kind of information which can be obtained.

The aims of the principals and the curriculum they offer to achieve those aims do not appear to be very different from the aims suggested in the ORACLE project (Galton and Simon 1980) nor indeed from those currently under discussion in the National Curriculum proposals. However, the results do suggest that science is not being given the importance which it might in the curriculum of the school. The skills associated with science were not ranked highly as a curriculum aim by either sample and science was given the least amount of time per week alongside poetry and religious education. This might suggest a deficiency in expertise and resources in the small school if such deficiencies throughout the system had not been identified as a rationalisation for the introduction of a National Curriculum and thus not a weakness unique to the small school.

The principals in the Northern Ireland schools valued intellectual development most highly and this appeared to be reflected in their focus on reading and mathematics both as their primary curricular skills and also in the time allocated to them. Reading was also given maximum importance by the Scottish principals but emotional rather than intellectual development was their primary aim. Mathematics was not given a high skills ranking but in terms of time allocated appeared to have considerable importance for the Scottish principals. Conversely although writing was given a high skills ranking this was not so evident in the timetable in Scotland but in Northern Ireland the time allocated to writing was greater than might have been suggested by its skills ranking. Likewise the time given to religious education in Northern Ireland is not in keeping with its lack of importance as an aim but probably this reflects the statutory requirement regarding the place of religious education in the curriculum.

There was considerable diversity in the ranking of personal aims by the principals in the two samples. Enjoyment of schools obtained the most first preference rankings in both samples but after that there was little concensus. The ability to make reasoned judgments appeared to have some importance for both samples but adaptability was given no first preference rankings in Scotland but 30 per cent in Northern Ireland while the reverse was true of the ability to be critical which received only 5 per cent of first preference rankings in Northern Ireland but 44 per cent in Scotland. There was little or no concensus either within or between samples regarding what aspects of social behaviour were important except that forming lasting friendships was the least important social aim of the school.

It would seem that where the intellectual or academic aims of the schools are concerned there was some concensus between both samples. The Northern Ireland sample appeared to demonstrate less flexibility than Scotland in the time allocated to traditional areas of the curriculum. However the results did suggest that at least where writing was concerned the Scottish sample was inconsistent in its rank preference and time allocated. The Scottish schools appeared to suggest that the curriculum offered was more integrated than in Northern Ireland and the greater range of subjects being given more than 15 minutes a day arose from a curriculum focussing on environmental studies. Northern Ireland schools did not suggest this approach and appeared more single subject oriented. This may reflect a conservatism of approach influenced by a selective system which discriminates between pupils at the age of eleven.

It is noteworthy, however, that in both samples the areas of the curriculum often claimed to be neglected in small schools, i.e. music, craft, needlework and physical education appear not to be so. These subjects appeared well represented in the timetable allocation of the schools in line with the findings of Aston University (1981).

There is some evidence from this study that the principals of small schools in the Northern Ireland sample concentrate on the formal and traditional aspects of the curriculum in order to further their pupils' intellectual development which may be given paramount importance because of the Selection Procedure at age eleven. The principals in the Scottish sample do appear to offer a slightly less rigid curriculum in terms of time allocated but to have similar curricular aims. Although the Scottish principals claimed to have the emotional development of their pupils as their primary aim they did not appear to have any more clearly defined social or personal aims than the Northern Ireland sample.

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MUSIC STANDARDS AND DISPOSITIONS 2: FORMATIVE MUSICAL EXPERIENCES AS PREDICTORS OF COMPETENCE IN MUSIC AMONG STUDENTS ENTERING A COLLEGE OF EDUCATION

Maureen Killeavy and Brendan Spelman

Introduction

Two recently completed studies in the area of music education in the Republic of Ireland have been particularly critical of music teaching in the primary school. In the forthcoming report on the Teaching of Music in Primary Schools by the Inspectorate of the Curriculum Unit of the Department of Education, it is stated that only in the area of song singing were the objectives of the curriculum being achieved: the teaching of aspects of musical literacy was generally considered to be 'at a very low level'. Meany (1986), in her study of music teaching in ten West of Ireland primary schools similarly found that while aural skills were well developed among pupils, skills relating to musical literacy 'required an intensive programme of remediation'.

Deaf Ears? (Herron, 1985), the report published by the Arts Council on the occasion of European Music Year, placed particular emphasis on the 'need to get it right' at primary school level, and commented adversely on inadequacies in the education of most primary school teachers in music.

In the first of a series of papers reporting on an intensive investigation of Music Standards and Dispositions of Students entering a College of Education (Spelman and Killeavy, 1987), the authors established the high level of proficiency in music of students entering primary teacher training. This paper also presented an analysis of students; familiarity with different types of music, and examined the extent to which these different forms were represented in the public examinations system. However, this first report also confirmed the existence of serious regional inequalities in access to music education in the Republic, and illustrated the disproportionate part which socio-economic factors continue to play in the music education of children.

The section of the study to be reported here concerns student performance on a range of assessed criteria of proficiency in music, both theoretical and practical, and of the influence of selective formative musical experience in predicting these criteria.

Method

Fifteen measures of musical proficiency were selected as criteria for the purposes of this stage of the enquiry. Eleven of these items (cf. Tables 1 & 2) formed part of a questionnaire administered to all 173 students on first entering College in October 1983. A further four (Table 3) formed part of a curriculum examination administered to a reduced sample of 117 students in February of their first year.

Table 1 presents distribution statistics relating to students' knowledge of aspects of music theory. Table 2 illustrates students' familiarity with compositions reflecting four different forms of music, and Table 3 describes students' proficiency in a number of tasks involving their practical performance in music.

The statistics presented in Table 1 indicate that knowledge of music theory was unevenly distributed among the students sampled. Inspection of the data confirmed that whereas approximately one quarter of students scored less than 10 per cent of the total marks available for this section, one quarter scored in excess of 90 per cent of total marks. Table 2 indicates that students were most familiar with 'pop' music and least familiar with 'serious' music, a finding which was supported by the results of a pilot study conducted with the previous year's College intake (cf. Spelman and Killeavy, 1987).

TABLE 1: Distribution statistics for seven criteria relating to aspects of music theory. (n = 173)

Criterion Variables	Maximum Score	Range	Mean	SD
Identifying key signatures	20	0-20	9.38	8.04
Inserting bar lines and time signatures	15	0-15	10.91	6.18
Transferring from staff notation to tonic solfa	20	0-20	6.05	4.84
Identifying pitch in staff notation	18	0-18	10.98	6.99
Identifying time signatures	12	0-12	6.17	3.77
Knowledge of music terminology	20	0-20	10.5	7.79
Writing a tune from memory	22	0-22	12.49	9.40

TABLE 2: Distribution statistics for four criteria of familiarity with different forms of music (n = 173)

Criterion Variables	Maximum Score	Range	Mean	SD
"Light" Music	10	0-10	6.14	2.6
"Pop" Music	10	0-10	6.79	3.02
"Standard Popular" Music	10	0-10	5.28	1.96
"Serious" Music	10	0-10	2.14	2.70

Table 3 represents student performance in practical aspects of music related to the teaching of the primary curriculum. The narrow score dispersal depicted in this Table may be a reflection of the level at which these particular competencies were assessed.

TABLE 3: Distribution statistics for four criteria of practical proficiency in music (n = 117)

Criterion Variables	Maximum Score	Range	Mean	SD
Vocal Technique	10	0-6	4.84	1.03
Ear Tests	10	0-7	4.88	1.04
Singing	10	0-6	4.64	1.23
Playing the Recorder	10	0-6	4.35	1.06

Sixty-four variables were then selected as potential predictors of the criteria previously described and were grouped into twelve subsets reflecting, as far as possible, the chronological involvement of students in aspects of music education prior to entering College. These twelve subsets and their constituent elements are outlined in Table 4.

Inspection of the distribution of predictor variables indicated that 72 per cent of students came from non-manual backgrounds, 40 per cent came from families with one or both parents teachers, and only 10 per cent had attended comprehensive, community or vocational schools. While 48 per cent of students described themselves as coming from rural backgrounds, only 28 per cent reported that their fathers were farmers. In terms of the education received by their parents, 38 per cent of mothers and 21 per cent of fathers were reported as having received some form of

TABLE 4 Classification of component variables in the twelve predictor subsets

Predictor Subsets	No. of Variables in Subset	Component Variables
Socioeconomic Origins	3	Parents' occupations ; students' grant-aided status.
Teaching Background	3	Number of parents employed as teachers.
Parents' Education	3	Extent of participation in second and third level education by parents and siblings.
Places of Origin	3	Province ; metropolitan, urban, rural ; Gaeltacht, Breac-Ghaeltacht, Galltacht.
Musical Backgrounds	7	Mothers' and Fathers' involvement in playing a musical instrument and in musical activities in the home and/or the locality ; students' attitudes towards music as experienced in their home environments.
Primary School Music Activities	12	Participation in class singing, musical instrument, bandwork, school concerts, choral work, church music, music appreciation and preparation for feiseanna ; Irish songs recalled; English songs recalled; attitudes towards Singing and Music.
Secondary School Music Activities	12	As above in relation to secondary school.
Characteristics of Secondary Schools	2	Type and sex of post-primary school attended.
Music Exams. Taken.	3	Level attained in Grade Examinations ; Music in Leaving Certificate ; Music taken to Intermediate Certificate.
College Preferences in Music	7	Ranked preferences for involvement in choral work, folk music, opera, traditional music, concerts, orchestra, church music.
Teaching Preferences in Music	8	Ranked preferences for teaching class singing, musical instrument, bandwork, school concerts, choral work, church music, music appreciation, preparation for feiseanna.
General Attitudes Towards Music	1	Five point Likert scale.

third level education. In terms of the music abilities of their parents, 23 per cent of fathers and 30 per cent of mothers were reported as being able to play a musical instrument.

In the first report of this study it was established that in terms of their music profiles, the students sampled represented three times the national average of those taking music at Intermediate Certificate level and seven times the national average at Leaving Certificate level. Moreover, 56 per cent of the sample had taken some music examination prior to entering College, 25 per cent obtaining Grade V or higher in instrumental music. Only 10 per cent of students indicated that they were negatively or neutrally disposed in their general attitudes towards music.

In the present phase of the enquiry three statistical procedures were employed to determine relationships. Correlation analysis was used to determine individual bivariate relationships between predictors and criteria; partitioned regression analysis was employed to determine the statistically independent contribution of each of the twelve variable subsets to the prediction of each of the criterion variables; and multiple regression analysis was used to indicate which variable within particular subsets made the most powerful contribution to explained variation.

Results

Correlation Analysis (cf. Table 5)

Five criterion measures were selected for this analysis. The first consisted of the total marks awarded for theory of music. The second and third criteria comprised the total scores obtained by students on two

TABLE 5 Variables within each predictor subset correlating most significantly with five selected criterion measures of music proficiency and familiarity. *

Predictor Subsets	Individual Variables	Theory of Music Total Mark	'Pop' Music Total Score	'Serious' Music Total Score	Vocal Technique Mark	Ear Tests Mark
Socioeconomic Origins	Grant Aided Status	-.232	--	-.202	--	--
Teaching Background	Mother Teacher	.157 x	--	.158 x	--	--
	Father Teacher	--	.228 xx	--	--	--
Parents' Education	Mother's Education Level	.247	--	.214	--	--
Place of Origin	Gaeltacht	-.298 xxx	.122 ns	-.183 x	-.151 ns	-.141 x
	Urban/Rural	.158 x	--	--	--	--
	Province (Connaught)	--	--	-.143 x	--	--
Musical Backgrounds	Mother - Music in Home	.280 xxx	--	.331 xxx	.210 x	.142 x
	Father - Music in Home	.356 xxx	--	.315 xxx	--	.195 xxx
	Attitudes - Music in Home	.403 xxx	--	.365 xxx	.271 xx	.251 xx
Primary School Musical Activities	Class Singing	--	--	--	.473 xxx	.348 xxx
	School Concerts/Shows	.229 xx	--	.237 xx	--	--
	Attitudes to Singing	.210 xx	--	.195 xx	.161 x	.209 xx
	Attitudes to Music	.190 xx	--	.175 x	.323 xxx	.318 xxx

TABLE 5 Variables within each predictor subset correlating most significantly with five selected criterion measures of music proficiency and familiarity. *

Predictor Subsets	Individual Variables	Theory of Music Total Mark	'Pop' Music Total Score	'Serious' Music Total Score	Vocal Technique Mark	Ear Test Mark
Socioeconomic Origins	Grant Aided Status	-.232	--	-.202	--	--
Secondary School Musical Activities	Preparation for Feiseanna	.378 xxx	--	.384 xxx	.384 xxx	.314 xxx
	School Concerts/Shows	.339 xxx	.138 x	.230 xx	.294 xx	.333 xxx
	School Choral Work	.226 xx	.144 x	.221 xx	--	--
	Music Appreciation	.435 xxx	--	.338 xxx	--	.243 xx
	Attitudes to Music	.416 xxx	--	.312 xxx	--	.203 xx
Characteristics of Secondary School	Type of School	--	--	--	-.165 x	-.133
	Sex of School	-.150 x	--	-.134 x	--	--
Music Examinations Taken	Grade Level Attained	.698 xxx	--	.492 xxx	.228 xx	.330 xxx
	Leaving Cert.Music	.536 xxx	--	.763 xxx	.205 x	.350 xxx
College Preferences in Music	Choral Work	.290 xxx	.173 x	.306 xxx	.179 x	.226 xx
	Church Music	-.248 xx	-.188 xx	-.146 x	-.294 xx	-.215 xx
Teaching Preferences in Music	Class Singing	-.154 x	--	--	--	--
	School Concerts/Shows	--	--	--	--	.129 x
	Church Music	--	-.130 x	--	--	--
General Attitudes Towards Music	General Attitudes Towards Music	.477 xxx	.126 x	.414 xxx	.288 xx	.316 xxx

ten-item matching questions assessing their familiarity with 'pop' and 'serious' music, respectively. The fourth and fifth criteria were College-based assessments of student performance on two aspects of practical music relating to the primary curriculum.

Table 5 outlines the relationship between the highest correlating variables within each of the subsets with each of the criteria in turn. Statistically significant relationships between these particular variables and all other criteria are included for purposes of comparison.

The results for the first criterion indicate that the total mark in theory of music was highly significantly related to the levels attained by students in music examinations prior to entering College. The range of musical activities engaged in by students while at secondary school was also substantially related to students' knowledge of the theory of music, especially their participation in music appreciation. However, only one primary school music activity, involvement in school concerts, was significantly related to this criterion.

The musical backgrounds of students, and in particular the involvement of their fathers in music making in the home was also related to their proficiency in this area. However, in terms of their occupational and educational backgrounds generally, the role of the mother appeared to be the more significant.

Students' grant-aided status was negatively associated with their knowledge of music theory, the higher the level of grant the lower the mark obtained. Moreover, students from Gaeltacht* and rural areas performed less well on this criterion than students from English speaking or urban areas.

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*Gaelic speaking

An inspection of the patterns of correlation pertaining to the second criterion, students' familiarity with 'pop' music, indicates that with the exception of activities related to communal singing and music making while at secondary school, most of the patterns of socialization sampled in the present enquiry were negatively or non-significantly related to this criterion.

However, students' scores on the serious music question displayed the most significant relationships with predictor variables of any of the five criteria included in the analysis. Grade-levels attained in music examinations prior to entering College were again significantly related to this criterion, as was the range of music activities pursued at secondary school and the extent of music making in the home. Participation in school concerts at primary school was also particularly associated with students' familiarity with serious music.

Socio-economic and demographic characteristics again appeared to affect students' performance on this measure, students from Connaught, from Gaeltacht areas and those in receipt of student grants displaying less familiarity with serious music than their peers.

The patterns of correlation associated with students' performance on the two assessed criteria of proficiency in practical music relating to the primary curriculum indicated that school music, and in particular students' experience of class singing at primary school, were most significantly related to proficiency in these measures. Music making in the home and music examinations taken prior to entering College also had a significant though less powerful impact on these criteria, but again students from Gaeltacht areas tended to perform less well on these practical exercises.

Findings of a more general nature suggested that students from conventional secondary schools tended to perform better than their counterparts from other post-primary schools on the two practical measures of music proficiency, and students from single-sex (largely female) schools tended to out-perform their fellows from co-educational schools on the measure relating to "serious" music and knowledge of the theory of music.

Another interesting result indicated that students who expressed a preference for engaging in choral work while in College tended to perform well on all criteria, whereas a professed interest in pursuing church music was negatively and significantly related to each of the measures included in the analysis.

In general, however, it should be noted that students' attitudes, whether towards music generally or towards their experiences of music at home, at primary or secondary school were highly related to all criteria of music proficiency with the exception of that relating to their familiarity with 'pop' music.

Partitioned Regression Analysis (cf. Table 6)

While the correlation analysis described in the previous section provides a useful description of the magnitude of the relationships between individual student experiences and the various criterion measures of music proficiency, it cannot estimate the collective strengths of such experiences as subsets in predicting such criteria. Partitioned regression analysis is used in

TABLE 6 Partitioned regression analysis of the contribution of 12 predictor subsets of music socialization to explained variation on 15 criterion measures of music proficiency and familiarity*

Predictor Subsets	Key Signature	Bar Lines and Time Signature	Staff to Tonic Solfa	Pitch in Staff Notation	Time Signatures	Music Terminology	Tune from Memory	'Light' Music	'Pop' Music	'Standard Popular' Music	'Serious' Music	Vocal Technique	Ear Tests	Singing	Playing the Recorder
Music Examination Taken	.134 xxx	.034 x	.086 xxx	.020	.039 x	.078 xxx	.037 x	.016	.020	.004	.156 xxx	.007	.021	.009	.008
General Attitudes Towards Music	.001	.000	.001	.000	.000	.007	.001	.005	.010	.006	.002	.006	.000	.000	.009
Teaching Preferences in Music	.009	.067 x	.034	.076 xx	.013	.014	.033	.016	.018	.005	.030	.013	.032	.0[illegible]4	.027
College Preferences in Music	.016	.018	.030	.034	.038	.019	.054 x	.033	.054	.030	.010	.025	.034	.018	.014
Characteristics of Secondary School	.002	.008	.002	.018 x	.001	.000	.002	.026	.004	.001	.002	.002	.013	.012	.003
Music Activities - Secondary School	.024	.068	.061	.051	.079 x	.045 x	.108 xx	.059	.003	.106	.029	.074	.074	.102 x	.062
Music Activities - Primary School	.021	.040	.039	.033	.032	.013	.057	.074	.066	.137 x	.034	.154 xx	.117 x	.174 xxx	.045
Musical Backgrounds	.024	.008	.031	.020	.009	.011	.011	.038	.010	.040	.014	.024	.020	.039	.072
Place of Origin	.019	.035	.021	.083 xxx	.022	.016	.027	.013	.031	.039	.015	.026	.018	.024	.045
Parents' Education	.008	.007	.013	.036 xx	.016	.003	.002	.001	.017	.018	.002	.016	.007	.005	.031
Teaching Backgrounds	.004	.004	.023 x	.020 x	.001	.004	.010	.020	.034 x	.029	.004	.008	.017	.012	.009
Socioeconomic Origins	.011	.016	.030 x	.019	.012	.012	.015	.020	.011	.019	.003	.018	.015	.037 x	.021
	R^2=.739 xxx	R^2=.608 xxx	R^2=.598 xxx	R^2=.696 xxx	R^2=.660 xxx	R^2=.802 xxx	R^2=.609 xxx	R^2=.472 ns	R^2=.483 x	R^2=.474 ns	R^2=.788 xxx	R^2=.525 xx	R^2=.577 xxx	R^2=.541 xx	R^2=.466 ns

* The statistic employed in this table to indicate the significance of the cumulative contribution of each predictor subset to explained criterion variation is the R^2 change.

x: $p<0.05$; xx: $p<0.01$; xxx: $p<0.001$.

this section to estimate the contributions of the 64 predictor variables, grouped as twelve internally coherent aspects of music socialization, to explained variation on the 15 criteria defined.

Table 6 indicates that in terms of the significance of the squared multiple correlation (R^2), or the total contribution of all twelve predictor subsets to explained variation on each criterion, three of the criteria were not significantly predicted by the sum of the variable subsets. These three criteria consisted of students' familiarity with 'light' and 'standard popular' music, and their proficiency in playing the recorder. The percentage variation explained in the case of these three criterion variables may not have attained significance because they represent modes of musical familiarity not within the scope of the experience sampled, or, in the case of the assessment of students' recorder playing, because it represented a relatively limited range of skills specifically related to the primary curriculum.

What is otherwise apparent from this table is the universally powerful effect of the music examination subset in predicting six of the seven music theory criteria, and the equally consistent effect of the primary school music activities subset in predicting student teachers' performance on three of the four practical music criteria relating to music in the primary school. It is noticeable also that whereas primary school music activities predicted practical music performance, secondary school music activities predicted proficiency in music theory, no overlap occurring between the two.

Of four criteria representing familiarity with different kinds of music, that reflecting students' knowledge of "serious' music was the most significantly predicted in the regression analysis, the music examination subset contributing most significantly to explained variation on this criterion. Students' familiarity with 'pop', 'standard popular' and 'light' music were not well predicted by the experiences sampled.

Demographic and socio-economic subsets made their most significant contribution to the two criteria relating to a knowledge of staff notation and tonic solfa, broadly confirming the patterns of association already noted in the correlation analysis.

This analysis has emphasized the overriding importance of music examinations, particularly grade levels attained and music taken as a subject for Leaving Certificate, in predicting students' knowledge of the theory of music on entering a College of Education. However, of comparable interest were the contrasting patterns of prediction for theoretical and practical aspects of music proficiency. The concluding subsection of the analysis is devoted to a detailed consideration of the role of particular music activities pursued at primary and secondary school in the differential prediction of the criteria defined.

Multiple Regression Analysis (cf. Table 8)

In regression analysis it is possible that the predictive effects of one variable or variable subset may be suppressed in the equation because of its close explanatory association with other variables or variable subsets. In the present enquiry supplementary investigation suggested that the predictive effects of secondary school music activities might have entered more significantly into the regression equation had not their predictive weights been subsumed by the more powerful effects of music examinations taken simultaneously at this level. The problem is one of private music education taking place either as part of, or independently of but at the same time as, students' formal secondary education. Moreover, since the primary and secondary music activity subsets when taken 'en bloc' appeared to be relatively discrete in their patterns of prediction, it seemed appropriate to determine which of the music activities within each of these subsets predicted which of the criteria.

TABLE 7: Participation in Musical Activity in Primary and Secondary School (n = 173)

	Primary School		Secondary School	
Type of Activity	% Participation	Rank	% Participation	Rank
Class Singing	97 (n=167)	1	83 (n=144)	1
Musical Instrument	60 (n=103)	=2	49 (n =84)	6
Feiseanna etc	54 (n = 93)	5	45 (n= 78)	7
Band Work	28 (n= 48)	8	14 (n= 25)	8
School Concerts etc	58 (n=101)	4	76 (n=132)	[illegible]
School Choral Work	30 (n= 52)	7	69 (n=120)	
Church Music	60 (n=103)	=2	71 (n=122)	
Music Appreciation	39 (n= 67)	6	70 (n=121)	4

Table 7 presents, for illustrative purposes, percentage student participation in each of eight types of musical activity at both primary and secondary school.

TABLE 8 Multiple regression analysis of the predictive contributions of music activities pursued at primary and secondary school to explained variation on 15 criterion measures of music proficiency and familiarity.*

Predictor Variables	Key Signature	Bar Lines and Time Signature	Staff to Tonic Solfa	Pitch in Staff Notation	Time Signatures	Music Terminology	Writing a tune from Memory	'Light' Music	'Pop' Music	'Standard Popular' Music	'Serious' Music	Vocal Technique	Ear Tests	Singing	Playing the Recorder
Class Singing		▒ .207 x					▥ .160 x					▥ .330 xxx	▥ .257 xx	▥ .294 xx	
Playing a Musical Instrument				▥ .153 x				▥ .215 x						▥ -.236 x	
Preparation for Feiseanna							▒ .183 x							▒ .222 x	
Bandwork					▒ .154 x			▥ -.198 x							
School Concerts/Shows							▥ .171 x								
School Choral Work												▥ .310 xx	▥ .206 x	▥ .352 xxx	
Church Music						▒ .162 x		▒ .206 n.s.		▒ .252 x					
Music Appreciation					▒ .244 x									▥ -.241 x	
Irish Songs - Curriculum							▒ -.172 x				▦ -.197 xx -.123 x				
Irish Songs Recalled					▥ .180 x			▥ -.282 x	▥ -.266 x			▒ .274 x			
English Songs Recalled										▥ .243 x					
Attitudes to Music												▥ .227 x	▥ .243 x		
Attitudes to Singing			▒ .195 x				▒ .202 x					▥ -.231 x			

* The statistic employed in this table to illustrate the predictive weight assumed by individual variables is the standardised regression coefficient or Beta.

x: p<0.05; xx: p<0.01; xxx: p<0.001

▒ = Secondary School Music Activity

▥ = Primary School Music Activity

▦ = Primary/Secondary School Music Activity

In addition to indicating considerable differences in emphasis between nominally similar areas of the primary and secondary school music programmes, the results also underline the somewhat lower participation rates at post primary level.

Table 8 presents the predictive weights independently assumed by each of the music activities which contributed significantly to explained criterion variation. The results confirm the trend indicated in Table 6, only one criterion being jointly, albeit contradictorily, predicted by the same music activity at both primary and secondary levels. The results otherwise indicate that whereas five of seven theory of music criteria were substantially predicted by a wide range of secondary school music activities, three of the four practical music criteria were strongly and almost exclusively predicted by primary school singing and choral work.

No distinctive patterns of prediction emerged in relation to the four criteria representing familiarity with different kinds of music, the most notable result being the negative relationship between knowledge of Irish songs, whether at primary or secondary school, and student familiarity with 'light'. 'pop' and 'serious' music respectively.

Summary

The concluding section of the paper is devoted to a summary interpretation of the most salient findings of the first two reports of this enquiry.

1. Students entering Carysfort College of Education significantly exceeded the national average of those

taking music at both Intermediate and Leaving Certificate levels. Moreover, 56 per cent of students had taken some music examination prior to entering College, 25 per cent attaining Grade V or higher. Leaving Certificate music and the grade levels attained proved to be powerfully predictive of both proficiency in music theory and familiarity with 'serious' music. However, music taken to Intermediate Certificate level only bore no such relationship with these criteria. Moreover, relationships between examination performance and music proficiency were much more evident in regard to music theory than to students' performance in aspects of practical music associated with the primary curriculum.

2. While the percentage of students who had taken music examinations prior to entering College was high in comparison with national norms, it is necessary to point out that knowledge of music theory was very unevenly distributed among the students sampled. The fact that 25 per cent of students scored less than 10 per cent of the total marks available for music theory is a matter of some concern in a profession whose members are expected to teach music as a subject at all levels in the primary school.

3. The first report of this study found that of four kinds of music, students displayed the greatest familiarity with 'pop' music, and thereafter, in decreasing order of familiarity, with 'light' music, 'standard popular' music and 'serious' music. However, the results also confirm that the dominant music culture within the formal education system was that of 'serious' music, and that familiarity with 'pop' music bore a consistently negative relationship with measures of music proficiency. This bipolar

tendency in students' interests and patterns of proficiency gains in emphasis from the fact that while 79 per cent of the variation for the 'serious' music criterion was predicted by students' formative experiences, only 48 per cent of the variation for 'pop' music was thus explained.

4. The first report of this enquiry confirmed that students' access to music education was significantly differentiated by their fathers' occupations, their grant-aided status and their areas of origin. The results of this phase of the enquiry suggest that while students from Connaught and those from rural areas tended to perform less well on measures of music proficiency, students from Gaeltacht areas performed least well on all of these measures with the exception of the measure relating to their familiarity with 'pop' music.

5. In terms of the formative influences on students of music as they experienced it in the home, the results would suggest that the involvement of both parents in music-making was significantly associated with music proficiency. However, the level of education attained by mothers rather than fathers exerts the more significant influence in this regard.

6. An examination of the characteristics of schools attended by students suggested that those from conventional single sex (largely female) secondary schools tended to out-perform their peers on a number of measures of music proficiency. However, the differential patterns of prediction particularly associated with music as experienced at primary and secondary school revealed a broad theoretical emphasis at secondary level which appeared neither to

incorporate nor sustain the practical music making emphasis characteristic of primary school. The four practical music-making criteria associated with the primary music curriculum were exclusively predicted by students' own experience of music activities at primary school. These findings support the observation of the CEB Report, *The Arts in Education* (1985) that 'there is little or no continuity in music education between primary school and the junior cycle of post primary school'.

It would seem appropriate to indicate, in conclusion, that the patterns of music socialization sampled in this enquiry point to the existence of three relatively discrete types of music proficiency, i.e. theoretical, notional and practical. Proficiency in the theory of music was largely predicted by music examinations taken prior to entering College and by students' secondary school music experiences; proficiency in practical music was predicted by students' experience of music making at primary school; and students' notional familiarity with different kinds of music appeared to be susceptible to influence outside the formal system of music education as currently defined.

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LEVELS OF MATHEMATICAL UNDERSTANDING IN THE PRIMARY SCHOOL

Jennifer Hunter, Jean McQuoid, Clare Mangan, Karen Trew,
Irene Turner and Ruth Harrison.

INTRODUCTION

The difficulties experienced in the learning and teaching of elementary mathematics have been the subject of many research projects, for example, British studies such as the Chelsea project (Hart, 1981), and the APU investigations (Foxman, 1984), also in America, the National Assessment of Educational Progress (Carpenter, Corbitt, Kepner, Lindquist and Reys, 1981). Although these studies have made a substantial contribution to the identification of common difficulties and misconceptions which influence mathematical performance, much of the existing research is cross-sectional and does not provide information on the development of understanding or misunderstanding. Relatively little is known about how pupils progress from one level of understanding to another, or what indicators might be available to identify at an early stage, those children who are likely to experience difficulty later. Questions such as these are the focus of a major longitudinal study of mathematics attainment and its concomitants in school children between the ages of six and fourteen years, funded by the Department of Education for Northern Ireland. This paper derives from the first stage of that project. It is concerned with stability and change in pupils' responses to certain items on a standardised mathematics test, over a two year period, starting when the subjects were in primary 3 and aged six to seven years. It examines overall test scores, progress on individual test items, facility levels and the range and types of errors evoked by different mathematics questions at the two age levels. The aims are to provide clues to the various levels of understanding through which children progress toward mastery of particular mathematical skills and to identify common misconceptions which are likely to hinder mathematical performance higher up the school.

The subjects consisted of all primary three pupils at eight state primary schools in the greater Belfast area, who were within the normal age for the class, had no known defects of hearing or sight, no specific learning difficulties and were present on the days of the tests. This produced a sample of 278 pupils, 53 per cent male and 47 per cent female, between the ages of six and seven years when first tested.

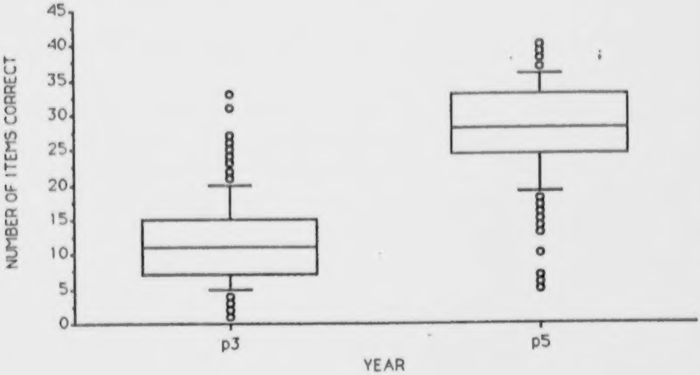
The NFER Mathematics Attainment Test A was administered in the pupils' own classrooms. This is a group test made up of 42 items covering a wide range of elementary mathematical skills and concepts including number series, word problems, graphs, fractions and factors. To avoid penalising poor readers, oral presentation was used, augmented by numerical and pictorial information printed on the answer sheet. Pupils were tested in primary three and again two years later, using the same test, in primary five.

RESULTS

Examination of raw test scores at the two age levels showed, as would be expected, that those at primary five level were generally higher than those at primary three. Figure 1 shows the median score in primary three to be 11 and that in primary five to be 28 out of a possible 42. The range of scores was slightly greater in primary five

(35),than in primary three (30), with 50 per cent of pupils in primary three scoring between 7 and 15, while 50 per cent of pupils in primary five scored between 24 and 33.

Figure 1: Median, quartiles and range for mathematics attainment scores in primary 3 and primary 5.

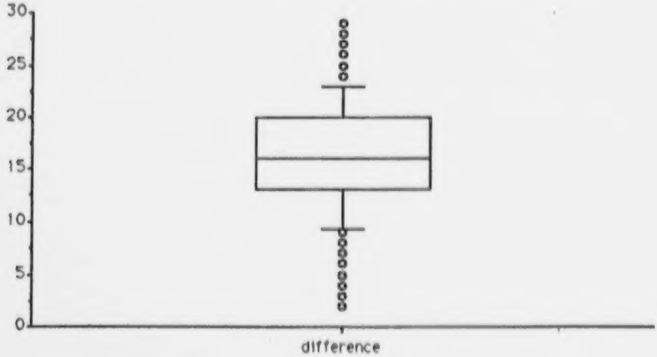


There was some degree of overlap between the two sets of scores with 10 per cent of pupils in primary three having more than 20 items correct and 10 per cent of pupils in primary five having fewer than 20 items correct. Three primary three pupils scored above the primary five median and five primary five pupils scored below the primary three median.

DIFFERENCE IN ATTAINMENT LEVELS BETWEEN PRIMARY THREE AND PRIMARY FIVE

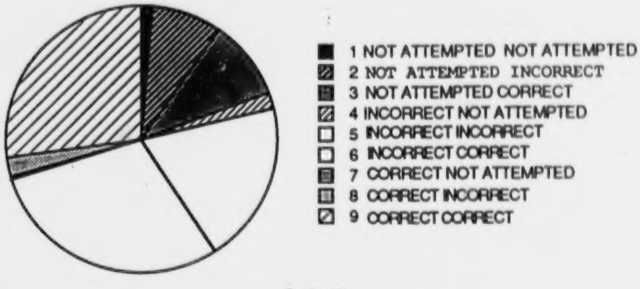
There was a positive correlation of 0.6720 between pupils' raw scores at the two age levels thus 45 per cent of the variance in primary five can be explained by performance in primary three. Every pupil answered more items correctly in primary five than in primary three but the extent of the improvement, illustrated in Figure 2, varied between a difference of two (three correct in P3 and five correct in P5), and a difference of twenty-nine, (nine correct in P3 and 38 correct in P5). The median difference was 16, with 50 per cent of pupils having a difference score between 13 and 20.

Figure 2: Median, quartiles and range of differences in pupils' scores between primary 3 and primary 5.



STABILITY AND CHANGE IN RESPONSES TO INDIVIDUAL ITEMS OVER THE TWO YEAR PERIOD

Figure 3: Nine categories of stability and change in pupils' responses to individual items



Comparison of individual responses at the two age levels, to each of the test items, produced nine categories of stability or change shown in Figure 3. The largest category of responses (29.54 per cent) were incorrect at six-seven years but correct at eight-nine years. The second largest category (27.00 per cent), were correct at both age levels. The third largest category (19.37 per cent), were incorrect at both age levels and of these 25 per cent produced the same error on both occasions. The smallest categories were, as might be expected, those in which performance regressed, i.e. correct at six-seven years and not attempted, (0.22 per cent), or incorrect at eight-nine years (2.48 per cent).

TABLE 1 Incidence of nine-categories of stability or change as a percentage of the total number of responses to 42 items by all subjects

	Primary Three			
	Not attempted	incorrect	correct	total
primary five				
not attempted	1.36%	2.04%	0.22%	3.62%
incorrect	8.30%	19.37%	2.48%	30.15%
correct	9.69%	29.54%	27.00%	66.23%
total	19.35%	50.95%	29.70%	100.00%

Further analysis of the nine categories, summarised in Table 1, showed that just over 19 per cent of responses in primary three fell into the category of 'not attempted'. Of these, fewer than 1/20th or 1.36 per cent of the total, were again not attempted by the same pupils two years later, while just less than half were answered incorrectly and just over half were answered correctly two years later.

Approximately 50 per cent of responses in primary three were incorrect and of these 1/25th or 2.04 per cent of the total were not attempted in primary five while of the remainder, approximately 2/5th were incorrect and 3/5th were correct in primary five.

Almost 30 per cent of responses in primary three were correct and of these more than 9/10ths were correct again in primary five.

Thus results show that not only is a correct response in primary three likely to lead to a correct response in primary five, but an incorrect response in primary three is more likely to lead to a correct response in primary five than is no response in primary three.

FACILITY AND TYPES OF ERROR FOR INDIVIDUAL TEST ITEMS

Every test item was answered correctly by more subjects in primary five than in primary three but the relative facility of items varied between the two age groups. Simple items at the beginning of the test were answered correctly by most subjects in both primary three and primary five, difficult items, mainly found at the end of the test were not attempted by most primary three subjects and either not attempted or incorrectly answered by many in primary five. On both these types of item then there is little difference in facility levels between the two ages. On some items there are large differences, for example in Completion of Series, primary three children often simply add one to the last number or at most two, whereas primary five children are able to find the pattern in the given numbers. The largest difference occurred on item 28 which required subjects to fill in the blank in the equation $4 \times ? = 24$. Almost all subjects answered correctly at primary five but in primary three the majority gave the answer as 20 whereas on item 27 which involved the equation $27 - ? = 16$ the difference in facility levels was much smaller. It would seem that primary three pupils are less familiar with multiplication facts than with addition whereas by primary five multiplication facts are well known.

The median number of different errors per test item was greater in primary three than in primary five. On some items, the same errors were produced at both age levels, sometimes by the same subjects. On other items, the same errors were produced at both age levels, sometimes by the same subjects. On other items, the errors commonly produced at the two age levels differed. On items where several answers were required, as in identifying all the factors of 12 or 20, most subjects in primary three either failed to respond or gave incorrect answers, but many in primary five were incorrect because they failed to identify all the factors. Thus different items provided different patterns of response at the two age levels and incorrect responses in primary five sometimes showed a higher level of understanding than that shown at primary three. In primary three, some subjects produced errors caused by an inability to write the answer in an acceptable form even though their computation was correct, for example, in a question of the form, 'write in figures the number which is two more than five hundred and thirty-nine', a common response would be '50041' which though incorrect, is an intuitively logical expression of five hundred and forty-one, and shows greater understanding of number than an answer such as 739. Another example of this occurred on fraction items where at the younger age, subjects used idiosyncratic terms such as "a threen" for "one third". This type of error was rarely found at the primary five level.

However, the wider knowledge of mathematical terms and procedures at this stage produced other errors. For example, on questions which asked what fraction of a given rectangle was shaded, primary five responses included erroneous fractions, i.e. one quarter instead of one third, or more commonly, one quarter instead of three quarters. While these answers did occur in primary three, they were less common, and incorrect fractions were usually expressed verbally, or simply as 'one part' or 'one bit', whereas in primary five they were often expressed numerically. There also appeared to be a common pattern in the order in which different fractions were used by the children. Halves being used before quarters and both these and three quarters were used by pupils who did not seem to understand thirds.

DISCUSSION

It would appear from these results that for most pupils there was considerable improvement in mathematical performance over the two year period but test scores suggest that for some pupils improvement is minimal. However, the finding that incorrect responses at primary three, are more likely to be followed by correct responses at primary five, than are non-attempts, together with the differences in the types of error found at different stages, suggests that there are intermediate levels of performance not revealed by a simple test score. Pupils whose low scores in primary three are due to failure to attempt a large number of items show improvement in primary five by attempting more items even if the answers are incorrect. Similarly, incorrect answers to the same question in both years can mask a higher level of understanding even though it does not produce the correct answer. These findings underline the importance of careful examination of pupils' attempts at mathematical questions so that credit can be given for improvement and children can be encouraged even when their answers are incorrect.

Between the stage of being unable to attempt a mathematics question and that of giving the correct answer, there are often many levels of understanding and of misunderstanding. Some errors show an immature form of reasoning but one which leads toward mastery of the relevant skills and concepts and is therefore to be encouraged. Other errors show a distorted view which leads to misunderstanding of basic skills and concepts, which at best will hinder immediate progress and at worst will result in uncertainty and confusion, with lasting damage to pupils' confidence, joy and understanding of mathematics.

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ASSESSING THE BENEFITS OF A LOGO PROBLEM-SOLVING COURSE

Deirdre Butler and Sean Close

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

Computers and Logo in Education

The fact that the computer is a product of new technology and that many educators consider it to be a potentially powerful educational tool is not sufficient justification for its introduction into the educational system. Careful questioning and scientific enquiry are required. Important questions about computers in the classroom might include the following:

(1) What can this innovation offer the teacher and the learner which is not currently available using existing resources?

(2) Can it be harnessed to do what is being done in schools more efficiently than is the case at present?

(3) Is it likely to lead to change in certain aspects of our school programs or to change in the whole system itself?

Rather than simply using the computer as a sophisticated calculator or as an efficient means of drill and practice, the most common applications of the computer to date, it is more important that it be used to give children a positive attitude towards learning and a sense of being in control of their own learning. This would enable them to use the computer in more creative and constructive ways for solving problems. The idea of using programming to improve understanding and problem-solving, arose from research in Artificial Intelligence. One of its principle advocates is Seymour Papert, who is responsible for the development of the computer language Logo which is the focus of the present study.

Feurzeig and Papert (1969), suggested that learning to program in Logo may provide children with a "conceptual framework" with which to learn mathematics. Papert (1972) later suggested that, by learning to program in Logo, children may develop a "Mathematical Way of Thinking". For, as espoused by Papert et al (1979), Hoyles et al (1985) and Hoyles and Sutherland (1985b), many of the key Logo ideas are metaphors for powerful mathematical concepts (Hoyles and Noss 1985, p. 12), e.g. procedures as functions, inputs as variables and recursion as induction.

Very little literature is available on the benefits of Logo for mathematics learning and teaching in Irish Primary schools. A substantial literature has been published in the States and Great Britain dealing with Logo's implementation at all levels of the school spectrum. Much of this literature contains conflicting results. For example, Williams and Williams (1984) indicate that there is no unequivocal data revealing that Logo experiences have measurable consequences on learning in general, or upon specific basic skills in particular. Yet Clements and Gullo (1984), in their study of first graders, found that children in the Logo group scored significantly higher than the CAI group on measures of cognitive style (reflectivity and divergent thinking), and metacognitive ability.

Against this background, this investigation was initiated to see if the approach to Logo adopted in a project for mathematically more-able children is beneficial to their mathematical development. The investigation is essentially exploratory in nature; it is concerned with illuminating the linkages between Logo programming and the development of mathematical concepts and problem-solving strategies, and with identifying issues for future research.

Drumcondra Project

The main aim of the Drumcondra Project, which began at St Patrick's College, Dublin in 1985, was to develop materials and methods for providing enrichment and extension for mathematically more-able children. Initially this was to be on an extra-curricular basis but with a view to such enrichment and extension being provided eventually in the regular school curriculum.

The view was taken by the initiators of the project that the enrichment program would have to be "relevant". The pitfall to avoid, as recommended by Stanley (1978), is that when providing enrichment we do not just provide "more of the same" - material that is quantitatively but not qualitatively different from that provided for the average student, or "irrelevant academic enrichment" - additional subjects or activities which pay no attention to the child's specific talents or needs.

As the children selected for this project were mathematically more-able, the program would need to have significant mathematical elements. Bearing in mind that "the ultimate aim of learning mathematics at every level is to be able to solve problems" (Lester, 1980, p. 287), and that "the ability to solve problems is at the heart of mathematics" (Cockcroft, p. 249) it seemed appropriate that the major thrust of the project be an attempt, not only to improve the children's mathematical skills, but also their problem-solving processes. Logo was chosen for this purpose and in 1985 a Logo based problem-solving experimental program was begun.

TABLE 1: Development of Computer Problem-solving courses, 1985-1987.

	No. of children on Course		
LOCATION	1985	1986	1987
Dublin	20	55	54
Cork		23	60
Kilkenny		24	42
Limerick		17	19
Mayo		8	8
Total	20	127	183

As can be seen from Table 1 within a year this experiment was extended to include a number of other centres which successfully ran similar Logo-based programs for mathematically more-able children.

Research Questions

By 1987 it was felt necessary to examine more critically the educational benefits it was thought the Logo course provided. The areas of benefit can be categorised as follows:

1. Curriculum Specific Mathematical Knowledge and Skills (e.g. angle, shape).
2. Powerful Mathematical ideas (e.g. recursion, functions).
3. General Problem-Solving Strategies (e.g. drawing a diagram).

The specific question addressed by this part of the preliminary investigation was:

What benefits does problem-solving in Logo have for more-able children's mathematical knowledge and skills?

In order to answer this question it was necessary to identify those mathematical concepts and skills which appeared to apply in the Logo problem-solving environment and to devise and administer a test of those skills.

METHOD

Initial Selection of the Children for Assessment

Sixty North Dublin city primary schools were circularised by letter and asked to identify any children in the 9 - 12 year old age group whom they considered to be exceptionally able and interested in mathematics. A checklist of characteristics of such children was provided to help schools in their selection. The parents of the children selected were then contacted to ask them if they would like to bring their children along for assessment.

The schools circularised were generally chosen for their proximity to the centres where the courses were to be held, i.e. St. Patrick's College, Drumcondra and Scoil Ide, Finglas, both in North Dublin. The schools chosen were biased slightly in favour of girls' only schools and schools in disadvantaged areas. By circularising more girls schools than boys' schools and a substantial number of schools in disadvantaged areas it was hoped that a balance would be struck between the number of boys and girls that came forward for testing and that it would also include a significant number of children from disadvantaged areas. Eighty-seven children altogether came forward for testing.

On the basis of their performance, 54 children (31 girls and 23 boys) whose scores on the Ravens and Drumcondra Tests were at or above the 90th percentile were selected for the 10 week (25 hours) Saturday morning computer problem-solving course.

A few exceptions were made in the case of children whose scores on the Ravens exceeded the 95th percentile but whose Drumcondra Mathematics Test scores were between the 80th and 90th percentile.

Correspondingly, a few exceptions were made in the case of children whose scores on the Ravens exceeded the 85th percentile and whose Drumcondra Mathematics score reached the 99th percentile.

The children, all of whom were in the age range 6-12 years, were divided between two centres.

Content of the Logo problem-solving course

As outlined earlier, for the enrichment to be of any value it should be matched to the child's special abilities. In order to meet this basic requirement the study attempted to provide enrichment of the Type 2 and Type 3 outlined by Renzulli's Enrichment-Triad Model". (Renzulli, 1977) using Logo and hence the computer as a vehicle.

Type 1 - General exploratory activities to stimulate interest in specific subject areas.

Type 2 - Group training activities to develop processes related to the area of interest, which was mathematics in this instance. The content of these sessions should be made up of "processes or operations (the powers of the mind) that enable" the child "to deal more effectively with content" (Renzulli, 1977, p. 25). Examples of these processes include "critical thinking, problem solving, inquiry training...creative or productive thinking" (p.25).

Problem solving in this context refers to: (a) the application of mathematics to the solution of problems in other fields, (b) the solution of puzzles or logic type problems, (c) the solution of mathematical problems requiring the application of specific mathematical content and processes. (Ridge and Renzulli, p.220). Mirman (1971, p. 221) stated that a Type 2 program should include the children being exposed to and taught a computer language. The literature illustrates clearly that the Logo environment provides opportunities to develop problem solving strategies and applications of specific mathematical concepts and skills as described above not only in a non-threatening, environment but in an individualised and productive one.

Type 3 - Individual and small group investigations of real problems. Logo provides the forum for "real" problems to be investigated as the children select their own problems to solve. These problems are real and

TABLE 2: Content and Schedule of the Logo Problem-solving Course.

WEEK NO.	BEGINNERS GROUP	INTERMEDIATE GROUP**
	(2-D graphics only)	(2-D and 3-D graphic Words and Lists)
WEEK 1	Pretest Immediate Mode Simple Procedures	Pretest 2-D Graphics problems
WEEK 2	Structured Procedures	2-D Graphics problems
WEEK 3	Structured Procedures	3-D Graphics Introduc
WEEK 4	Procedures with Variables	3-D Graphics problems
WEEK 5	Structured Procedures with Variables	3-D Graphics problems
WEEK 6	Use of Random Command Assessment	3-D Graphics problems Assessment
WEEK 7	Tail Recursion	Words + Lists problems
WEEK 8	General Recursion	Words + Lists problems
WEEK 9	Contest	Contest
WEEK 10	Post-test	Post-test

**All problems with the intermediate group involved variables.

meaningful to each individual child and are solved at their own pace. It has been suggested that whilst engaged in such investigations "developing a sense of efficient use of time and ability both for short-term and long-term objectives... should be aided and abetted at every opportunity" (Renzulli, 1977). This was another objective of the Drumcondra Logo project.

A brief summary of the content and schedule of the program are listed in Table 2. It must be noted that there were two levels (a) beginners (i.e. those children who were using Logo for the first time) and (b) intermediate (i.e. those children who had previously completed a similar Logo course).

Method of Instruction

As outlined earlier, each session was 2½ hours long and the children generally worked one per computer. Commodore 64 machines were used in the Drumcondra centre and BBC and Apple 11e machines in the Finglas centre. There were three types of instruction provided:

1. Introduction of new concepts / topics
2. Setting and clarification of problem to be solved (hints sometimes given of how one would go about solving the problem)
3. Individual over the shoulder guidance and help given at the monitor to the individual child. This was the predominant form of instruction.

Sometimes a new concept / idea etc. was introduced to an individual child as readiness was approached. Consequently each child could progress at his/her own pace in so far as possible. The amount of help and the time spent with each child varied a lot as guidance was individually tailored. A great deal of sensitivity was required when intervening and the type of intervention depended heavily on the following:

1. The capabilities of the pupil (age, grade etc.)
2. Logo experience and knowledge
3. Learning style of the pupil.

The rationale for intervening was that early appropriate intervention helps to avoid the development of difficulties which could not be easily remediated later. That is not to say that the children were not permitted to experiment and make errors. On the contrary one of the major strategies we hoped the children would learn was that of using the knowledge learnt from an error in a positive manner.

The Instruments

1. The Logo Criterion Referenced Mathematics Test

In order to assess the goals of the programme it was necessary to construct instruments which would exhibit the benefits of Logo for the children's mathematical skills and problem-solving strategies. One such instrument was the Logo Criterion Referenced Mathematics Test which was designed to measure the mathematical skills it was thought problem-solving in Logo would develop. Many of these skills, are outlined in the literature (c.f. Table 3).

The mathematical skills relevant to Logo problem-solving were identified following an analysis of

(a) The Logo research literature (c.f. Table 3),
(b) Primary School Curriculum, Teacher's Handbook Part 1 (1971),
(c) Teagasc an Matamaitice sna Bunscoileanna. (1978) - a report of the Department of Education Inspectorate.

TABLE 3: Logo related Mathematical skills referred to in past studies.

1. Directionality (Kull 1986; du Boulay 1978)
2. Estimating linear quantities and distances (Kull 1986; Watts 1979)
3. Standard unit of measure (Kull 1986)
4. Recognising repeatable patterns (Kull 1986; Howe et al 1982)
5. Proportion (Kull 1985)
6. Symmetry (Kull 1985; Watts 1979; Finlayson 1984)
7. Division (Kull 1985)
8. Ordering (Kull 1985)
9. Concept of number (Kull 1986)
10. Communicating mathematical ideas (Kull1986; Feurzig et al 1969); du Boulay 1978; du Boulay & Howe 1982; Howe and O'Shea 1978; Howe et al 1980)
11. Orientation in space (Kull 1986)
12. Directed Numbers (Finlayson 1984; Watts 1979; Howe et al 1982)
13. Co-ordinate system (Watts1979; Finlayson 1984)
14. The use of variables (Watts 1979; Finlayson 1984; Noss 1986; du Boulay 1978; Milner 1973)
15. The significance of special angles (Watts 1979; Finlayson 1984)
16. Shape (Watts 1979; Kull 1986' du Boulay 1980)
17. The concept of an angle and the ability to be able to estimate the size of an angle (Watts 1979; du Boulay 1978; Finlayson 1984)
18. Angle relationships in polygons (Watts 1979; Thomas & Thomas 1984; Finlayson 1984)
19. Perpendicularity (Watts 1979)
20. Rotation (Watts 1979; Finlayson 1984)
21. The circle (Watts 1979; Finlayson 1984)
22. Converting fractions to decimals (Thomas & Thomas 1984)
23. Reading or parsing a mathematical expression (du Boulay 1978)

A list of 38 objectives was compiled from these sources. Items were then constructed to test each objective and the objectives were divided into five categories: five on Whole Number Structure, eighteen on Geometry and Measurement, three on Charts and Graphs, two on Algebra and seven on Fractions and Decimals.

The test was tried out in three schools involving 20 children and the appropriate modifications were made,

TABLE 4: Objectives for the Logo Criterion Reference Maths Test

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SECTION A - WHOLE NUMBER STRUCTURE

The pupil can:

1. solve problems involving addition and subtraction
2. solve problems involving multiplication and division
3. recognise and continue the pattern in simple number sequences
4. identify prime and composite numbers
5. use exponents
6. identify common multiples
7. identify the H.C.F. of numbers
8. solve problems of addition and subtraction of directed numbers.

SECTION B - GEOMETRY AND MEASUREMENT

The pupil can:

1. identify 2-D shapes
2. identify basic facts about angles
3. compare and estimate angles
4. identify and use terms associated with directionality
5. recognise relationships in polygons
6. identify parallel and perpendicular lines
7. recognise bilateral symmetry
8. identify properties of reflection
9. identify rotational symmetry
10. identify the relation between radius and circumference
11. calculate the area of a rectangle
12. identify 3-D shapes
13. recognise nets for three dimensional shapes
14. recognise relationships in 3-D shapes
15. estimate and compare distances and turns on a map/plan
16. estimate and compare lengths.

SECTION C - CHARTS AND GRAPHS

The pupil can:

1. draw and interpret charts and graphs
2. select suitable scale when drawing and interpreting graphs
3. identify the co-ordinates on a grid.

SECTION D - ALGEBRA

The pupil can:

1. solve simple algebraic equations
2. express simple verbal problems as open sentences

SECTION E - FRACTIONAL NUMBER STRUCTURE AND DECIMALS

The pupil can:

1. identify fractions on a number line
2. rename a fraction in equivalent form
3. solve problems in ordering fractions
4. convert a fraction to a decimal and vice versa
5. solve problems in ordering decimals
6. solve problems using decimals in arithmetical operations.

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based on a preliminary item analysis. The number of objectives was reduced from 38 to 35, which left 74 items in the test. The 35 objectives are listed in Table 4.

The modified version of the test was then administered as a pretest to the children that had been selected for the project. After ten weeks of Logo (25 hours) the test was again administered as a post-test to the same children.

It must be stressed that we did not teach to the test i.e. we did not take particular objectives and teach them specifically each week. Our main emphasis was on teaching the children to use the computer language, Logo, to solve problems which required the application of the particular mathematical skills tested.

2. Logo-Score Checklist

This instrument was developed in an effort to assess the Logo programming skills that the children had developed during the course. The range of skills the children were assessed on were simple procedures, structured procedures and procedures with variables. Each skill was weighted in proportion to the importance and complexity that particular skill had when problem-solving in Logo. Using the checklist below the children were then assessed by two examiners on the procedures that they had written as part of a contest held at the end of the course. Their Logo-score was calculated as the average of the scores awarded to them by the two examiners.

TABLE 5: Logo Programming Skills Included in Checklist

	Marking Scheme
A. Simple Procedures	
1. Can write a simple procedure to do a particular task	1
2. Uses minimum number of commands needed in any line of a procedure	1
3. Uses repeat where appropriate	1
4. Sets out procedures in logical steps for easy reading	3
5. Uses meaningful titles for procedures	1
B. Structured Procedures	
1. Breaks problem into appropriate sub-procedures	4
2. Makes each procedure state-transparent	4
3. Can interface sub-procedures appropriately in a master procedure	1
C. Procedures with Variables	
1. Can use variables in a procedure	2
2. Can use variables in a structured procedure (scaling)	2
3. Uses redundant variables in a procedure	deduct 1

RESULTS

Item Statistics and Reliability of the Test

Of 74 items only 31 items had a facility level of over 50 per cent on the pretest whereas 47 items were above this level on the post-test. At the lower levels ten items had a facility level below 20 per cent on the pretest but this had dropped to four on the post-test. Similarly, at the upper levels only four items had a facility level of over 80 per cent on the pre-test whereas on the post-test this had risen to 12 items. The Kuder-Richardson reliability of both the pretest and the post-test was 0.95.

Means, Standard Deviations and Significance Test

A two-tailed test of significance of the difference between the pretest and post-test means (31.1 and 39.5 respectively) proved significant well beyond the 0.01 level of significance.

This result is encouraging, when one considers the growth in mathematical attainment that can usually be expected with tests of this type. For example, Close et al (1978) investigated the growth in mathematical attainment of 1167 sixth class pupils and 640 first year post-primary pupils using a test based on 55 objectives on the mathematics curriculum for 5th and 6th class. Net growth over the year for 6th class pupils was 11.8 per cent and for post-primary pupils mean net growth was in the order of 6 per cent. The mean growth demonstrated by the children in the Logo course (11.2 per cent) compares favourably with the mean growth achieved in the above study. It must be noted however, that instruction on one or more of the objectives may have occurred during the ten weeks of the Logo problem-solving course, in some of the classes that the children involved in this study were attending. There is no way of knowing the precise extent of this contribution. Despite this limitation most of the growth can still confidently be attributed to the work done during the Logo-solving course, particularly in the light of the high level of difficulty of the tasks, the broad range of topics involved, and the wide age range of the children in the courses.

Analysis of Performance on Specific Objectives

As has been indicated the overall performance level on objectives increased substantially from the pretest to the post-test. While six objectives had mean percentage scores of less than 20 per cent on the pretest this had dropped to one objective on the post-test and where seven objectives had mastery percentage of over 60 per cent on the pretest, there were 16 such objectives on the post-test.

The two objectives that showed the most dramatic improvement were objective 10, which was testing the relationship between the radius and circumference of a circle (10.6 per cent to 31.8 per cent) and objective 15, which involved estimating and comparing distances and turns using a map scale (17.3 per cent to 44.3 per cent).

Objectives that showed the least improvement in performance included objective A. 6 (addition and subtraction of directed numbers), and also objective A.7 (identifying the H.C.F.),objective B.12 (identifying 3-D shapes) and objective C.1 (draw and interpret charts and graphs). In the case of B.12 it must be remembered that only 10 of the children did, in fact, have any opportunity to experience working with 3-D Logo.

Finally, there were two objectives on which performance actually dropped between the pretest and the post-test. Objective A. 6 dropped form 62.5 per cent to 61.6per cent (addition and subtraction of directed numbers) and E.5 (ordering decimals), dropped from 67.3 per cent to 66 per cent.

Correlations among measures taken

A correlation matrix (Table 5) was constructed, to examine the patterns of co-variation, among some of the measures that were involved in the study. The fact that there are higher correlation between the Logo Score and the Logo Criterion Referenced Mathematics Test (pretest 0.43, post-test 0.49) than between the Logo Score and the Drumcondra Mathematics Tests (0.34), suggests that there are concepts and skills being developed in Logo, that the normal standardised test does not test, but which the L.C.R.M.T. does seem to test.

TABLE 6: Correlation Matrix of some of the measures involved in the study

	AGE	GRADE	LMT-1	LMT-2	RAV.RS	RAV%	DMT%	L.S
AGE	1.00	0.94	0.66	0.70	0.41	-0.22	-0.22	0.24
GRADE	0.94	1.00	0.77	0.79	0.43	-0.18	-0.12	0.27
LMT-1	0.66	0.77	1.00	0.91	0.48	0.06	0.22	0.43
LMT-2	0.70	0.79	0.91	1.00	0.50	-0.01	0.22	0.49
RAV-RS	0.41	0.43	0.48	0.50	1.00	0.64	-0.17	-0.01
RAV %ile	-0.22	-0.18	0.06	-0.01	0.64	1.00	0.06	-0.10
DMT %ile	-0.22	-0.12	0.22	0.55	-0.18	0.06	1.00	0.34
L.SCORE	0.24	0.28	0.43	0.49	-0.01	-0.11	0.34	1.00

LMT-1 = Logo Criterion Referenced Mathematics Pre-test
LMT-2 = Logo Criterion Referenced Mathematics Post-test
L.SCORE = Logo Score using the Assessment Checklist
RAV.RS = Raw score from Raven's Progressive Matrices
RAV %ile = Raven's Progressive Matrices Percentile rank
DMT %ile = Drumcondra Mathematics Test Percentile rank
GRADE = School Grade in the formal school system

Age and grade are strongly correlated, which is to be expected - and reflects the current age-in-grade practice in operation in most primary schools. However, correlations between the Logo score and both the age and grade levels of the children in the study are low, therefore adding strength to the argument that Logo is suitable for all age levels, and is not so strongly dependent on previous mathematical experience.

The correlation between the Logo Criterion-Referenced Mathematics Test and the D.M.T. is constant from pretest to post-test (0.22). The fact that this correlation is positive suggests that there is some similarity in the mathematical material that is tested by the two tests, but the fact that the correlation is small may illustrate that there is a broad range of skills that are relevant to the Logo environment which, if the D.M.T. was used as an assessment instrument, would go untested. Therefore, using only existing standardised tests to measure effects of Logo on mathematical development is perhaps part of the reason why other studies in this area did not find significant differences. Hence, the need to concentrate on developing and modifying tests that would better demonstrate the benefits of working in a Logo environment.

DISCUSSION

This study sought to question the benefits of a Logo-based problem-solving program for children's mathematical development. Such evaluation is necessary and has been advocated by many researchers (Becker 1985; Papert 1987) if projects similar to the one described in this study are to develop. The results of this study have demonstrated that it is possible to identify, describe and measure effectively those mathematical skills and concepts which appear to benefit directly from programming and problem-solving in Logo. It has also been demonstrated that the L.C.R.M.T. is a useful instrument for assessing the mathematical skills and concepts developed by solving mathematically based problems in Logo, for a growth in performance of 11.5 per cent was reported after the children had completed a ten week (25 hours) problem-solving course in Logo. This growth is statistically significant well beyond the 0.01 level and augurs well for the teaching of mathematical skills using Logo. For example, in this study Logo was of particular benefit to geometry and measurement objectives. These are areas which many schools find difficult to teach if one is to judge by the report

Tuairisc ar Theagsc an Matamaitice sna Bunscoileanna - An Dara Eagran (1980).

It has also been demonstrated that conventional standardised tests may not be sufficient for illustrating the benefits of Logo as the content is not specific enough to the Logo learning environment. They tend to include many topics which are not directly dealt with when working with Logo and exclude many other topics which directly benefit from working with Logo.

Using the Logo-Score Checklist which measured the child's knowledge of Logo programming skills and concepts, results indicate that only one child was experiencing difficulties problem-solving in Logo whereas the majority of children in the study (83 per cent) were competent at defining and working with simple procedures. The Logo-Score did not seem to depend on age as was illustrated when a comparison was made of the children with the lowest score (Average age = 11 years 4 months; Logo-score = 6.55) and the next ten youngest children in the study (Average age = 9 years 5 months; Logo-score = 14.3). A low correlation between Logo-score and both age and grade was also reported (0.24 and 0.27 respectively), which indicates that there was very little relationship between age and success in problem-solving in Logo.

It must be stressed that the results obtained in this study though encouraging should also be viewed with reservation for two reasons. Firstly, there was no control over the mathematical content covered in the children's normal school setting and it was not possible to isolate the subsequent effect this may have had on the post-test results. It must be remembered though that the aim of the program was to provide enrichment and extension for mathematically more-able children.

However, If one considers the range and scope of the material tested by the L.C.R.M.T. (35 objectives), much of which is covered only in the Senior Classes of the primary school (V, VI), and also the fact that the course ran for ten weeks only it would be highly unlikely that many of the L.C.R.M.T. objectives would have been dealt with in the normal school setting which by necessity must cater to the norm of the class. This argument is further strengthened when one views the scores of the youngest children, (school grades I-IV), who would almost certainly not have been exposed to the majority of the L.C.R.M.T. objectives in the formal school setting. One can therefore with reasonable confidence attribute much, if not all, of the growth in mathematical performance demonstrated by the L.C.R.M.T. to the Logo problem-solving course.

Secondly, as the aim of the program was to provide enrichment and problem-solving experiences for mathematically more-able children and not to teach to specific mathematical objectives the improvement achieved might not have been as great as systematic teaching towards specific objectives might have attained. With further research, it may be possible to isolate certain core objectives which benefit directly from Logo only and which require no specific instruction to reinforce them. Other areas which could benefit from Logo, if coupled with specific instruction could then be identified and categorised. This would result in a more flexible testing instrument and would better reflect the type of Logo experience the children have been exposed to. Test results, therefore, would not be distorted by including objectives that had not been dealt with during the Logo problem-solving course, as may have been the case with this study, for the objectives which showed the least improvement were those that were not directly addressed during the Logo course (i.e. A.3, A.5, A.6, B.11, B.15, B.16).

Further improvement in performance, might occur if the teacher was consciously aware of the mathematical objectives that most benefited from Logo and made concerted efforts to link what the children were doing in the Logo environment with mathematics, e.g. naming polygons as the children defined them.. In this way, effective links could be forged between the children's Logo knowledge and their mathematical skills and concepts.

This study highlights the need for further research into the relationship of Logo and mathematics, and the need for the development of methodology and materials which would enable teachers to use Logo to address specific mathematical objectives.

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PUPIL UNDERSTANDING OF NON-TECHNICAL VOCABULARY IN SCIENCE TEXTBOOKS

Maureen E. O'Rafferty

The pilot research project described in this paper was undertaken as part of an investigation related to science teaching and learning. Pupil understanding of non-technical vocabulary was investigated in the context of a study of factors influencing the readability of science textbooks, written in English, for use by pupils in the junior level of post-primary education.

Since the 1920s much research has been carried out on the readability of science textbooks. Prior to the development of readability formulae (r.f.) and their application to scientific prose, difficult non-technical vocabulary had been identified by Curtis (1938) as the major cause of science reading difficulty for junior high school pupils, and as being of considerable importance for senior pupils also.[1] Curtis suggests that textbook authors may have made a particular effort to use few words which seemed to them likely to be unfamiliar to pupils, but were probably less restrained in their use of more common words which they expected pupils to know.

Research in the 1940s generated a variety of formulae which attempted to relate semantic and/or syntactic variables to text difficulty, and since 1950 such r.f. have been applied to scientific text. Use of r.f. led to an emphasis being placed on long technical words as the chief source of difficulty in scientific text. Even if the use of r.f. with ordinary prose is deemed valid, their inability to allow for special features of scientific prose and the fact that much research on science textbooks used r.f. which were not constructed using scientific prose as criterion material,[2] must render them inadequate for analysis of scientific prose. Slater asserts that r.f. are inappropriate for the assessment of scientific texts,[3] and he and Thompson state that, as it has not been shown that scientific prose read by pupils has the same linguistic correlates of difficulty as their other reading, "the use of formulae with scientific writing must be taken to be an even less secure procedure then with everyday writing".[4] While cloze procedure has been proposed as helpful in the measurement of readability, the manner in which technical vocabulary is used in scientific prose may result in high cloze scores which are not necessarily associated with high levels of comprehension.[5] For example, a cloze test on a science passage may have phrases such as "Ohm's Law" or "pulmonary artery" repeated. A reader who has seen the phrase once and then finds "Ohm's ______" or "_____ artery" may insert the correct word without being clear about its meaning or understanding the passage.

Using Kintsch's text analysis system, Slater systematically manipulated some features of scientific prose extracts from textbooks and he investigated the influence of this on the ability of 11-12 and 14-15 year-old pupils to comprehend and make inferences from such materials. Holding passage content constant while varying factors likely to influence comprehension, Slater identified aspects of prose which could be manipulated to affect comprehension. The results of his research has led him to state:

> If more easily comprehended materials are to be produced for pupils learning science, the simplest single means through which this can be achieved is by the removal of difficult non-technical vocabulary..... [6]

As examples of difficult and less difficult words, and of changes which authors can make, Slater and Thompson list:

Difficult	Less Difficult
Constructed	Made up
Constitute them	Make them up
Initially	First of all
Termed (verb)	Called
Complex	Complicated
Materials	Substances
Composed (of)	Made up (of)
Recognise	Spot
Variety	Type
Theory	Idea
Less complex	Simpler
Acquainted with	Know of
Convenient	Easy
Readily	Easily [7]

Gardner has made systematic attempts to identify and measure pupil difficulties with non-technical vocabulary. He began these researches in Papua and New Guinea in 1968 and after the TPNG research, undertook similar studies in Australia and in the Phillipines.[8] Science teachers and educational researchers compiled a list of 599 non-technical words used in science teaching --SWNG 600-- and multiple choice items were used to test pupil comprehension of these words. When words were being rated as "essential" or "valuable", as "technical or "non-technical" for Gardner's SWNG 600 list, the following were the criteria for classification of words as technical or non-technical:

A word was to be regarded as technical:

> ... if in planning a lesson you would deliberately plan to teach the meaning of the word and explicitly attempt to make the meaning clear during the lesson (e.g. technical terms or unfamiliar concepts about to be taught for the first time)

and as non-technical:

> ... if you are not likely to actually plan to teach the word during the lesson (although, no doubt, if a student asked about it you would explain it to him). 9

In the construction of test items attention was paid to word connotation and context. Since one word can have a number of connotations, it had to be decided which was most appropriate. Some words (e.g. "film", "level", "interfere", "positive", "sensitive" and "spring") were tested twice to cover both their usages. Testing in Australia was carried out in the third term of 1971, and involved 7567 pupils in 270 classes in 39 schools. Analysis of responses resulted in the compilation of lists of words accessible to pupils at different stages in their secondary education.[10] Despite the need for caution in interpreting the results of this research (due to the fact that context had considerable effect on item difficulty), it appears that many pupils did have difficulty in understanding the non-technical words as tested by the multiple choice items. Similar research carried out in the Phillipines by Gardner and his co-workers, in which 40,837 pupils were tested in 1975/76, indicated the existence of an enormous gap between the desired level of comprehension of non-technical words which science educators regarded as essential or valuable for pupils studying science, and the actual level of comprehension displayed by pupils tested.[11]

Cassels and Johnstone proposed in 1977 that the Chemical Society should carry out research in Britain similar to that which Gardner had carried out in Australia. The project eventually involved 60 schools and approximately 15,000 pupils. For each of first, second third and fourth forms, Cassels and Johnstone tabulate the words which fewer than 70 per cent of pupils in that form got correct.[12] Understanding of words varied according to connotation--reversing a car being better understood than reversing the connections of a battery. Words used in scientific contexts appeared to be harder to understand than the same word used in a non-scientific context.[13] In 1978/79 the 160 words which their earlier research had shown to be the most difficult were further investigated. Over 10,000 pupils were tested. Non-technical words in a scientific context were harder to understand than the same words in non-scientific contexts, and Cassels notes "an indication that Gardner's findings are in the main applicable to Britain".[14] In a subsequent study, Cassels and Johnstone studied the 95 words which their earlier work had shown to be most troublesome. Pupils from first to sixth form in over 200 schools were tested. Performance did improve with age--perhaps in part due to selection of pupils as they moved through the school.[15] In many cases pupils chose a word meaning opposite to the correct one, and showed much lack of precision in their answers--e.g. "probability" = "correct a fault". Pupils in doubt often had recourse to look-alike or sound-alike words.[16] As the product of this research Cassels and Johnstone provide a list of words which were not found to be accessible to more than 70 per cent of pupils tested, and which they consider to require "serious attention by teachers, text book writers, work sheet designers, computer programmers and examiners".[17] Curragh investigated the ability of pupils in senior primary and junior secondary classes in Northern Ireland to define non-technical words used in both everyday and scientific contexts, and reported that fewer correct responses were given for words in scientific contexts than for those in non-scientific contexts.[18]

The studies of both Curtis and Slater--far removed from each other in method, time and location--had identified non-technical vocabulary as the major source of difficulty for young pupils reading science text. Pupils from Papua and New Guinea, Australia, the Phillipines, and the United Kingdom had all been shown to experience difficulty in understanding such words, and this suggested that a study of the comprehension by pupils in the Republic of Ireland of non-technical words used in science teaching would be of interest.

A pilot study carried out in May 1987 used multiple choice questions to test comprehension of non-technical words--the method used by Gardner and by Cassels and Johnstone in their researches. In deciding which non-technical words should be tested, the list of words which Cassels and Johnstone designate as "Words For Special Attention" was used. The vocabulary of a recently published science textbook for the Intermediate Certificate Science Syllabus A (ICSA) course was compared with this 84-word list. A list of 40 words was thus compiled, all of which could be regarded as being used as non-technical words in the textbook. The presence of these 40 words on Gardner's SWNG 600 list and on Cassels and Johnstone's word lists was used as the operational definition of non-technical vocabulary in the design of the present study. The list of 40 words obtained by the method described, and called the 40 NTW list, comprised the following:

agent
audible
characteristic
classify
complex
component
composition
constituent
contract
correspond
crude
device
disperse
displace
dominant
effect
efficient
emit
essential
estimate
excess
exert
external
factor
generate
illustrate
immerse
isolate
linear
maximum
phenomenon
proportion
random
rate
residue
spontaneous
source
stimulate
system
theory

One multiple choice item was used to test understanding of each word. Where possible, one of the distractors written for each item had a meaning opposite to the correct one. Items generally required a high level of discrimination, and considerable use was made of distractors which resembled the correct answer in spelling or sound. The 40 item test, called the 40NTW test, was administered to 233 pupils studying science in a co-educational post-primary school in an urban area. Pupils in five first year classes (n=109) and four second year science classes (N=80) were tested. Four of the first year classes were preparing for the Intermediate Certificate in 1989, and one for the Day Vocational Certificate in 1989. Three of the first year Intermediate Certificate classes were following the ICSA course, the fourth studied the ISCIP course. The Day Vocational class followed the ISCIP course.[19] All second year pupils tested followed the ICSA course. Fifth year (i.e. first year Leaving Certificate) pupils were also tested, but this paper will deal particularly with the results of the testing of the first and second year pupils. For each class tested, the science teachers indicated any word in the 40 NTW list which they thought their pupils had met, either in their textbook or in the teacher's explanations. Since the Drumcondra Verbal Reasoning Test (DVRT) is administered to pupils who have applied for a place in the first year of the school in the March prior to their entry DVRT scores were available in the school for nearly all of the first and second year pupils taking the 40 NTW test.[20]

The mean percentage scores obtained by first, second and third year pupils were 69.2, 69.3 and 81.5 respectively. The mean score for the total sample was 71.5 per cent. The KR-20 reliability of the test for the total sample was 0.90, and 0.93, 0.84 and 0.79 for the first second and fifth year subgroups respectively.

By contrast with the results by Gardner, and those of Cassels and Johnstone, these results do not provide evidence of growth in knowledge of the 40 NTW list words between first and second year, or between first and fifth year, since the difference between the mean score of fifth year pupils and that of first year pupils studying an Intermediate Certificate science course (76.6 per cent) was not significant at the 5 per cent level. When the mean score of first year pupils taking an Intermediate Certificate science course was compared with that of the second years, the difference was significant at the 1 per cent level, but in favour of first years.

The Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient was calculated for pupil scores on the 40 NTW test and the DVRT. For first year pupils there was a very significant high positive correlation ($r = 0.74$, $p < .001$) between scores on these tests, and for second year pupils the correlation was moderate positive ($r = 0.54$, $p < .001$). Pupils in a class with higher mean scores on the DVRT were thought by their science teachers to have met more of the 40 NTW list words, and they also obtained higher mean scores on the 40 NTW test. There were considerable differences in the number of words on the 40 NTW list which teachers thought pupils in their classes had met. Pupils in the first year Day Vocational ISCIP class were thought to have met 16 of the words; those in the Intermediate Certificate ISCIP class to have met 17; and the three first year ICSA classes to have met 21, 32 and 33 of the 40 NTW list words. Pupils in the four second year classes had met 33 or 34 of the 40 NTW list words. Teacher expectations, the possible existence of systematic differences between science teachers in the extent and range of their non-technical vocabulary use, and the science syllabus followed and the course material used may be possible contributors to the considerable intra-class variations in exposure to words on the 40 NTW list.

Pupils did not invariably perform better on words which their teachers indicated they had met than on those it was thought they had not met in the course of science teaching. Just as Curtis suggested textbook writers might do, science teachers may expect to explain the meanings of technical words to their pupils, but may be less aware of pupil difficulties with non-technical vocabulary. It appears that even if particular non-technical words have been used in science teaching, pupils will not necessarily be more sure of their meaning than of words not so met. This raises the issue of how the words are introduced, used, and repeated in the teacher's speech or in the text read, to provide pupils with adequate context from which they may be able to derive meaning for an unknown word. Even if science teachers do not pay much attention to explaining non-technical words used in science--as earlier researchers have suggested--the context in which words are used may provide many clues for the learning of new vocabulary items. Pupils who had not studied particular topics in their science courses may not have met the associated non-technical words (since many non-technical words seem to be almost exclusively used in junior science studies when dealing with specific scientific topics); those who, despite having met the words, did not answer well, may have lacked opportunities to develop adequate and accurate meanings for the words.

Analysis of pupil responses indicated that, in a number of cases, pupils chose a response which had a meaning opposite to the correct one, e.g. "take in" for "emit", "they followed a definite pattern" for "random", "refined" for "crude", and "become longer" for "contract". Lack of precision was evident in some responses, e.g. the association of "immerse" with "to float in a liquid" or with finding the volume of a piece of wood. Look-alike and sound-alike words were sometimes favoured in choosing responses, e.g. in the choice of "extra" and "expire" as responses for the item testing the word "external". These three findings agree with trends which Cassels and Johnstone noted in pupil responses. With regard to the facility indices for items, no clear pattern emerged, save that the items testing the word "essential" and "estimate" were generally easy, and that testing "spontaneous" was very difficult for pupils. No definite pattern was found for item discriminations.

The aim of the pilot study was to investigate whether second level pupils studying science in the Republic of Ireland experienced difficulty with non-technical words found in a science textbook intended for their use. Test items written for the 40 NTW test were intended to require a high level of discrimination, and, as consideration of the mean scores indicates, pupil responses indicate a generally high level of vocabulary knowledge. However, the mean score of 71.5 per cent obtained by the 233 pupils in this study, indicates that nearly 30 per cent of the words were not understood, as tested, by the average pupil. The method by which these words were singled out for study has been referred to. All words tested had survived extensive rating procedures by teachers of science in Australia, were regarded as important in the learning of science, and had been shown to cause difficulties for TPNG, Australian, Philippino, and British pupils studying science. All occurred in the vocabulary of a recent textbook, widely used in the Republic of Ireland. These 40 words are, therefore, firmly rooted in the textbook and in class instruction, yet nearly 30 per cent of them were not understood, as tested, by the average pupil. If difficulties with non-technical vocabulary are limited in extent they can, nevertheless, have grave repercussions on the teaching and learning of science--and of other school subjects. Where a pupil fails to understand the meaning of a non-technical word, what is learned may at best be meaningless; at worst, the opposite of what was intended. Where pupils take words such as "random" or "contract" to mean "well ordered" or "expand", the error may have serious consequences for their learning. That neither pupil nor teacher may be aware of the misunderstanding makes it more serious. Since the use in science of words like "contract" will frequently be accompanied by teacher demonstration or pupil experiments to show, for example, that metals expand when heated and contract when cooled--an opportunity which some other school subjects may rarely afford; teachers of subjects other than science should also be aware of the need for caution in the introduction and use of non-technical words. Teachers should attempt to ensure that their own verbal discourse and the written materials used by their pupils provide adequate opportunities to acquire word meanings. Since some words have either a different or a more precise meaning in science than in every day usage, particular care should be taken with these. Special attention should be paid to the use of polysemous words, in particular to those with a common meaning and a less familiar use in a particular subject area.

Those who teach and those who write instructional materials intended for the use of pupils of lower reading ability, should exercise particular care in the use of non-technical vocabulary. The 23 pupils following the ISCIP course for the Day Vocational examination, had a mean score of 41.5 per cent on the 40 NTW test. Though these pupils were thought to have met only 16 of the 40 words tested, they, like more able pupils performed better on some words they were not thought to have met in their science learning than on some words they had so met. General vocabulary knowledge, learning in other subjects, or from sources such as television, may account for the relatively good performance on some items testing words pupils were not thought to have met. To recommend that care be taken in the use of non-technical vocabulary in the teaching of low ability pupils is not to suggest that such words be excluded. Rather it is to suggest that the context in which these words occur--be it spoken or written-- should be such as to enable pupils to acquire at least partial meanings for these words. Research has indicated that both able and less able pupils gained less vocabulary knowledge from short passages of scientific prose than from longer passages altered by changes in macrostructure, microstructure, and elaboration of key concepts and of the relations between them.[21] Since there is little evidence to suggest that direct teaching of vocabulary items is fruitful, and some to suggest that direct vocabulary instruction can deal with only a small fraction of the words pupils require, the present writer is not recommending that teachers, science teachers in particular, should devote considerable time and effort to the teaching of non-technical words. Most science teachers are unlikely to be favourably disposed to devoting their science classes to teaching non-technical vocabulary. However, if modifications to text can assist acquisition of both vocabulary and concepts, textbook writers could usefully attend to them, and teachers note their presence or absence in textbooks they consider for adoption.

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20. The DVRT scores for first year pupils date from about 15 months before they took the 40NTW test, and DVRT scores for the second year pupils are about 27 months previous to their 40 NTW test scores. Full details of the pilot project design and results are given in Maureen H. O'Rafferty, "Language in Science: A Study of Pupil Understanding of Non-Technical Vocabulary" (M.Ed. dissertation, University of Dublin, Trinity College, 1987).

21. Herman, P.T., Anderson, C., Pearson, D. and Nagy, W.E., "Incidental Acquisition of Word Meaning from Expositions with Varied Text Features", *Reading Research Quarterly*, 22, (1987), p. 281. These authors note: "This goes against the grain of conventional wisdom among educators that less able students should not read long, difficult science prose because they 'won't get anything out of it'. The fact is that less able as well as able students acquired *less* vocabulary knowledge from reading the shorter, supposedly easier text. Texts will not necessarily be made easier by making them short and superficial".

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ECONOMICS IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS: A REVIEW OF THE LEAVING CERTIFICATE, GCE "A" LEVEL AND GCSE

John Sheehan

This paper is a preliminary analysis of the syllabi for Economics in secondary schools in Ireland, North and South, and its main purpose is to assess course objectives and content with the following questions in mind.

(1) Are aims and objectives clearly stated?

(2) Is the course content coherently structured so that the pupils can get an appreciation of the overall scope of the subject?

(3) Are the aims, objectives and course content clearly related?

Assessment procedures and teaching methods will not be examined in any detail as these are matters outside the author's competence.

1. Aims and Objectives

The Leaving Certificate (LC) Syllabus lists four objectives: (i) to give students a general understanding of "economic activities, patterns and principles", (ii) to develop the ability to apply these principles, (iii) to develop an interest in real-world economic problems, and (iv) to provide a basis for further study.

Both the GCE Advanced Level (AL) and the new General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE) have a more elaborate and structured hierarchy of aims and objectives. A general statement of the aims of the course (corresponding largely to the LC statement of objectives) is followed by a list of more specific objectives largely related to various skills or tasks which the student should be able to perform. In the AL curriculum this is followed by an outline of the examination procedure and in the GCSE curriculum there is a similarly detailed examination and assessment section which contains a list of Assessment Objectives and their relation to various examination components.

The AL syllabus has two very generally stated aims: (i) the attainment of a broad understanding of economics and (ii) the provision of a satisfactory basis for further study. Somewhat more specifically, the course is intended to provide both "factual knowledge" of economics and a range of capacities such as the ability to express concepts, to read critically, to use references and data sources, etc. Finally the most specific and detailed objectives (terms "objectives of the examination") list 20 items under the headings of Knowledge, Comprehension, Application, Analysis and Synthesis, Evaluation and Expression.

Two important issues seem to arise from the foregoing:

(a) To what extent is there a coherent and structured set of aims and objectives in the various courses? There is a much more detailed statement of aims and objectives in the AL and GCSE compared to the LC. The position in LC Economics and cognate subjects is varied. In Business Organisation there are separate (albeit briefly stated) sets of curriculum and examination objectives along the same lines as in Al and GCSE Economics. On the other hand, in Accounting there is no statement of aims or objectives whatever. It is apparently widely agreed that curriculum development should start with general statement of Aims, and proceed to more operational, observable and specific Objectives. These objectives are often expressed in terms of techniques appropriate to the subject in question (such as mathematical, statistical, or other data-handling techniques in economics), and are not confined to chunks of economic knowledge. The AL and GCSE programmes reflect this distinction clearly. The LC's "objectives" are really what a curriculum developer would regard as general aims.

(b) Would the LC syllabus benefit from a more detailed set of course objectives, especially in relation to types of analytical skills and other relevant dimensions of attainment? This of course, is not a new issue. Madaus and McNamara (1970) analysed the LC courses and examinations in six subjects, using a taxonomy of educational objectives set out by Bloom et al (1956). The Bloom taxonomy was of six hierarchical objectives: (i) Knowledge, (ii) Comprehension, (iii) Application, (iv) Analysis, (v) Synthesis and (vi) Evaluation. This list is very similar to that already mentioned in relation to the AL examination objectives. Madaus and McNamara found that the lower-order objectives were overwhelmingly those which were being fostered by the LC syllabus, textbooks and examination in the late 1960s. Whether there has been any significant change is difficult to judge, but the official syllabus of LC Economics does not seem to indicate much awareness of these issues. This is all the more surprising since the Madaus and McNamara paper is based on a report to the Department of Education in 1969.

2. Course content and structure.

In examining the course content and the extent to which it provides a coherent and adequate treatment of the subject, particular attention will be paid to:

(a) the coverage of fundamental concepts and their application.
(b) the balance between essential and basic material on the one hand and more special and possibly peripheral topics on the other.
(c) the teaching of techniques of analysis and exposition.

The LC syllabus starts with an introduction, which is a list of basic concepts... "such as wealth, income, welfare, scarcity, choice, wants, needs, goods and services,utility, production, consumption and exchange, opportunity cost, diminishing returns, open and closed economies." This list is intended as an example of basic concepts but the ordering and combination of listed concepts may strike the economist as somewhat uneven. For example, most economists would put *scarcity*, *choice* and *opportunity cost* together at the top of the list, as they are closely related and absolutely fundamental.

There follow five sections which might be broadly described as microeconomics: *Production and Consumption* (which appears to be largely about factors of production, firms, industries and households considered from a somewhat institutional perspective); *Economic Systems and Economic Thought* (a vast area of study given only 16 words and somewhat incongruously placed); *Demand and Supply* (fairly straightforward analysis of markets); *Price and Output* (the analysis of prices and output under perfect competition, monopoly, imperfect competition, and oligopoly); *Factor Incomes* (including analysis of labour markets, interest rate determination and profits).

The next eight sections are broadly macroeconomic in scope: Determination of National Income and its Fluctuations (national income accounts are included in this section, and there is no indication of what models of income determination are to be covered); Money and Banking (largely institutional); The Government in the Economy (largely budgetary policy); Inflation; International Trade and Payments (cover both real and monetary); Economics of Population (includes global and national demography and labour supply); Economic Growth and Development; and Economic Policies, Problems and Conflicts (largely about choice between alternative policy objectives).

The sections listed above are given very brief treatment, generally amounting to a list of headings or topics. For example, the determination of National income section reads in full: "Concept of National Income; its measurement and statistical sources. Factors influencing the size and composition of national income. Its limitations as a measure of economic performance." The major inadequacy of this outline is its failure to spell out clearly the distinction between (a) national income accounting, and (b) the theory (or theories) of national income determination, which is about economic behaviour rather than definition and measurement. Confusion on this point is often found among students; it appears to prevail among syllabus composers as well.

For AL the detailed syllabus consists of twelve topic areas, each of which has an explanatory note giving guidelines on techniques to be used and on the interrelations between the different course topics.

The first seven topics cover basic principles and microeconomics. These are The Methodology of Economics (hypothesis testing, modelling, positive and normative analysis); Basic Economic Problems (scarcity, choice, etc.); Theory of Consumer Behaviour; Theory of Production (includes elements of business finance as well as production and cost functions and the equilibrium of firms under the usual variety of market structures); The Operation of Competitive Markets (largely about the influence of taxes and regulations on the operation of markets); The Theory of Distribution; and finally The Role of Government in Allocation and Distribution (policies on competition, regions, nationalised industries, income distribution, public services, etc.).

The next six topics are broadly macroeconomic: National Income Accounting; The Theory of Income Determination (simple Keynesian model); Money and Banking (a mixture of theoretical and institutional topics); International Trade (real and monetary, with a strong emphasis on institutions such as IBRD, EC, GATT and IMF); The Role of Government in Economic Management (targets, instruments, etc.); and Economic Aspects of Population.

Generally, despite considerable differences in presentation the LC and AL courses are similar in scope, with the exception of the Economic Systems and Economic Thought section of the LC, which has no direct counterpart in the AL. In addition the AL syllabus places more emphasis on methodology and on the ability to work with empirical data.

The GCSE syllabus covers most of the topics already mentioned in connection with the two other programmes, but there is a tendency to eschew pure theory and to concentrate on institutional and organisational aspects of economics. The syllabus is laid out in detail and is integrated with guidance for teachers on assessment and examination. It is over twice the length of the AL and seven times the length of the LC syllabus.

In terms of the questions posed at the beginning of this section, the GCSE is understandably not very strong in its coverage of fundamental theory, although it does place a lot of emphasis on basic concepts such as opportunity cost, and on understanding how economic institutions work. A closer comparison can be made between AL and LC, which are both terminal second level courses with an avowed aim of also being foundations for further study. Here the main criticism is the way in which the LC topics are related (or not related) in the microeconomics area.

The first section of the LC syllabus, (the introduction which lists some basic concepts) is deficient in two respects; (i) some of the concepts listed are more basic than others and a shorter, better ordered list would be more helpful; (ii) there is a need for greater stress on some basic methodological issues, such as the role of theories and models, and the distinction between positive and normative economics. Indeed the latter distinction, which is so central to one's understanding of how economists analyse problems, gets no mention anywhere in the LC syllabus.

The subsequent microeconomic sections would benefit from rearrangement, with a simple analyses of markets, followed by an outline of how different economic systems tackle economic problems, and finally the usual analyses of the theory of demand, production, costs, income distribution and related policy issues.

The macroeconomic sections of the LC would benefit from two related changes: (i)separate sections for

National Income accounting and the theory of income determination and (ii) somewhat greater emphasis on the theoretical aspects of monetary economics. These changes would reflect some of the developments in macroeconomic thinking in the past 20 years.

There is finally the history of economic thought, which is unique to the LC, and which also raises the question of basic versus peripheral material. LC Economics is usually one of at least six subjects taken in a two-year cycle, whereas AL Economics is generally one of three subjects taken over two years. If anything, the AL student ought to have more time to study the history of the subject. More generally, the opinion has been expressed informally by some university teachers of economics that the LC syllabus attempts to cover too much.

What, if anything, should be discarded in order to concentrate on a better understanding of the essentials? A definitive answer cannot be given here, but one might suggest (i) the history of economic thought (or at least any detailed consideration of it), (ii) much of the economics of population and of growth theory, and (iii) some of the more difficult aspects of the theory of the firm, especially oligopoly.

The third question posed at the beginning of this section concerned the teaching of techniques of analysis and exposition. This gets considerable mention in both GCSE and Al but is not mentioned explicitly in the LC syllabus, where there is mention only of understanding economic principles and phenomena and of being able to apply one's knowledge to new situations. Also the AL examination includes a section involving the handling and interpretation of real world data, which has no counterpart in the LC examination. Moreover the difference between the LC Ordinary and Higher Level courses is not defined in terms of subject material or of technique, but simply in terms of having a "wider knowledge and deeper understanding" of the subject. As a stated aim of the LC is to provide a basis for further study (presumably especially for those taking the Higher Lever course), it would be useful if those who teach the subject at third level were given a better guide as to the technical ability which a successful LC candidate could be reasonably expected to have.

Two points made in Madaus and McNamara are worth restating in the present context: (i) Is it desirable to have different Higher and Lower level examinations where there is no difference in formal syllabus content, only in level of comprehension? (ii) ... "a syllabus should be composed with reference to two axes, one expressing content, the other expressing the various levels of intellectual functioning" (op. cit., p. 16). These observations appear to be as relevant to-day as when they were first made in 1970.

Recently the establishment of the Curriculum and Examinations Board, and its successor the National Council for Curriculum and Assessment, has changed the context within which curriculum development and reform may be implemented in the Republic. The detailed work of the Council has so far been mainly in the Junior Cycle area, and it remains to be seen whether substantial changes to the LC economics course will be proposed.

3. The Relation of Course Content to Aims and Objectives

The relation between content and aims/objectives is most explicit and developed in the GCSE syllabus, where

470

it forms the subject of an extensive set of guidelines for teachers (see especially pp. 190-192).

The comparative brevity of the AL and LC syllabi makes it almost impossible to judge whether either of these programmes is structured in a way which is in line with stated objectives. One can, however, point to significant *omissions* from the syllabus which are an indication that objectives are not being met. In the case of the LC there appear to be three such omissions:

(i) There is nothing in the course content which indicates that students are expected to have data-handling skills, however elementary, and which are arguably an essential part of any economics education.

(ii) An insight into basic methodological issues, even if only the positive/normative distinction, would seem to be another essential component, if students are to gain any insight into how economists think about problems and policy issues.

(iii) An analysis of income determination which combines both real and monetary aspects, without getting the student confused by a myriad of alternative macro-models and controversies between schools of thought.

Two caveats are in order: first, the LC syllabus may be overloaded already, so any attempt to remedy the above omissions should be undertaken as part of a rationalisation of the course content; second, a detailed review of LC textbooks is probably necessary in order to gain a proper understanding of how the economics course is "really" taught and to what extent its objectives are being realised. A review of LC textbooks and examinations would seem to be the next step indicated by the observations in this paper.

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THE VIEWS OF THE CONSUMER IN EDUCATION - A MUCH NEEDED GAP?

Jean Whyte

Education has been defined in many ways - in terms of *what* it strives to achieve for the individual and ultimately for society, in terms of *how* it tries to achieve those aims and sometimes in terms of *whether* it succeeds in achieving those aims. In the latter cases, we often find that the ground has shifted a little and the response comes in terms of examinations passed or jobs obtained, rather than in terms of the higher order objectives which have been attained. Is this a problem? It is a problem because unless we can find some way of assessing our success in attaining those higher order objectives, we have no means of telling how adequate the system is, especially for those children who for one reason or another do not figure on the examination lists and do not find employment.

One approach might be to see education as a service provided by the state or its agents or other voluntary bodies. Nowadays, services are evaluated and frequently we find that the consumer is consulted in the course of the evaluation in the belief that this may lead to a greater understanding of his or her requirements and ultimately to a more satisfactory service, perhaps even better value of money. Examples might include pre-election polls which may be clearly seen to influence party manifestoes and perhaps even election results, and consultations by such businesses as cable television companies about satellite channels.

Do we ever seek the views of the children and students in our education system? It is certainly done informally in some third level courses and perhaps also in some second level schools. Spelman (1979) looked at pupils' attitudes towards the transition to second-level education, and O'Shea (1983) sought pupils' perceptions of teachers' attitudes towards specific aspects of the Irish educational system, but otherwise there is little evidence of the views of students in the annals of the Educational Studies Association of Ireland.

The dislike of school given by 56 per cent of respondents as their main reason for applying for a place in the Northern Ireland Youth Training Programme (Whyte et al 1986) must give rise to some concern. A pilot survey to establish the prevalence of such feelings among 12 year olds and to determine the causes and possible remedies for such feelings was carried out in schools of equivalent socio-economic level located in West and East Belfast, London and Dublin. Two complete class groups of first year students in the B stream or equivalent from each school participated in the project. The total of almost 400 students was distributed as in Table I.

TABLE I

Subjects by location and sex

	West Belfast	East Belfast	London	Dublin	Total
Girls	41	49	45	62	197
Boys	34	50	50	60	194
Total	75	99	95	122	391

The schools in Belfast and London were single-sex; those in Dublin were coeducational since they appeared to provide the best match along other dimensions such as the socio-economic and academic.

The questions about school formed part of a questionnaire about activities both inside and outside school. It was completed by the students in their class groups within a class period supervised by their teacher or researcher. Responses were written by individual students without consultation or interference. The confidential nature of the responses was emphasised. The questions relevant to this paper were as follows:

1. What I enjoy most in school is ..... (name three things)
2. School would be better if ..... (name three things)
3. School is supposed to help us in life because..... (name three things)
4. It's worth while trying to do well at school because ..... (name three things)

RESULTS

The questions are given above in the order in which they were presented in the questionnaire. The responses have more coherence if presented in the order 3, 4, followed by 1, 2. In this way students' expectations of what school was supposed to help them to achieve are linked with their reasons for trying to do well; these aspects of motivation can be related in turn to what they enjoy about school and the changes they would like to see.

A. 'School is supposed to help us in life because....' Four categories of responses emerged from a content analysis;

   i) mention of employment alone;

ii) mention of employment plus other factors such as learning specific skills, general education, passing examinations

iii) mention of other factors such as skills in general, general education, without mention of employment

iv) mention of specific other factors such as growing up, maturation, adulthood.

TABLE II

Responses to item 'School is supposed to help us in life because..'

Percentages of subjects giving each response

	West Belfast Girls	Boys	East Belfast Girls	Boys	London Girls	Boys	Dublin Girls	Boys
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Mention of Employment only	4	6	3	3	6	3	0	3
Employment plus other education factors	38	50	42	53	36	31	57	53
Other education factors only	46	50	45	44	44	67	40	47
General maturing factors	20	-	8	8	13	2	37	29
'Keep us off the streets'	14	4	12	3	-	2	2	7

Percentages sum to more than 100% as categories are not exclusive, except categories 2 and 3.

At age 12, horizons were fairly wide for the majority of respondents. Fewer than 6 per cent in any group saw education as helping solely in terms of employment. The proportion of those who saw education as being helpful for employment among other outcomes and those who did not mention employment at all were fairly close in all groups.

There were 'cleaner' divisions by culture than by sex as may be seen from the following points emerging from the Table:

a) In three of the four boys' groups the percentage of those mentioning employment was higher than that not doing so; the reverse was true for girls. The Dublin girls (coeducational) and the London boys (single-sex) were the exceptions).
b) The London students were least oriented towards employment as a direct outcome of schooling; the Dublin girls were the most oriented in this way.
c) The values of education other than those of school-based learning, appeared to be appreciated more by Dublin students and by Catholic girls in West Belfast than by any other group.
d) The Belfast children were most aware of another function of education, perhaps a sign of the times in their areas - that of "keeping us off the streets and out of trouble' ... "giving us something to do'.

It can be concluded that employment prospects are one of the main reasons why young people accept school. At the same time other values are clearly appreciated by some children, even at age 12. These include skills such as reading, writing, spelling and, as one respondent expressed it... 'it learns you how to read bills' (sic). They also include values such as getting on with others, acquiring good manners, learning sports. But at a time of falling employment prospects, it must be asked whether young people will be encouraged sufficiently to continue with their studies by the thought of employment which can only be uncertain. We must also ask whether enough attention is given to encouragement and reinforcement through successful progress in the acquisition of skills and through the development of dignity and self-respect.

B. 'It's worth while trying to do well at school because...'

The most frequent response from every group to this item was in terms of employment prospects, except for the London girls. The percentage of those giving the next most frequent response - a response in terms of educational benefits was substantially lower.

TABLE III

Responses to item 'It's worth while trying to do well at school because....'

	West Belfast		East Belfast		London		Dublin	
	Girls %	Boys %	Girls %	Boys %	Girls %	Boys %	Girls %	Boys %
Employment	85	79	76	71	40	83	84	80
Educational Achievement	12	21	10	29	20	17	10	13
Please parents/ teachers	10	6	18	4	11	4	16	15
Higher Education	5	3	2	2	13	2	2	2

Other responses included:
to get a good report; keep up with own group; to be able to help with own children; to get monetary reward.
None of these had over 10% responses.

Among the other reasons given, it will be noted that few in this sample aspired to third level education. The London girls were the most interested and this is consistent with their lower mention of employment as an objective.

External motivation, based on affect, emerged as relevant for only a small percentage of these groups. Those who thought it most important were the Dublin children (boys and girls) and the Protestant East Belfast girls.

Employment emerged as more important than any other motive from the responses to this question. There was some appreciation among some groups, of the personal values and advantages which can be gained from education, but little of the view of education as a recurrent life-long endeavour for which early schooling provides the basis. The low dependence on external motivation may be interpreted as a sign of maturity, perhaps even premature in 12 year olds, or as denoting a situation brought about by a deficit-oriented school culture which has resulted in many claiming not to care what people think, in order to avoid being hurt.

C. 'What I like most about school is......'

Since the respondents in this survey emphasised employment so strongly as an outcome of education, one might expect them to find enjoyment in doing those subjects which are most likely to be of assistance to them in seeking employment as they might see in them the gradual acquisition of the means of attaining their goal. The responses to this item were categorised in terms of the percentages of respondents who mentioned particular subjects.

It was found that the subject mentioned by most respondents as being what they liked to do best in school was physical education including sports and games. The London girls were the exception, but even with them the percentage was over 60 per cent, and the difference may be explained by the ethnic composition of this group of whom two-thirds were of non-European ethnic origin and perhaps not culturally aclimatised to this aspect of education.

TABLE IV

Responses to item 'What I enjoy most in school is ...
(Percentage of subjects giving each response)

	West Belfast		East Belfast		London		Dublin	
	Girls %	Boys %	Girls %	Boys %	Girls %	Boys %	Girls %	Boys %
Physical Education/ Sports	71	66	51	61	67	74	61	69
Music/Art	29	41	49	26	78	19	26	27
Drama/ Woodwork/ Cookery Needlework	24	41	20	15	40	6	8	18
English	20	17	47	41	35	48	26	30
Maths/ Science	20	17	20	41	55	30	24	21
History	5	17	2	13	20	9	2	18
French	2	3	33	4	18	4	2	3

This finding shows an almost total lack of relationship between what the children expect school to help them with and what they like doing best there. No more than 2 per cent had in fact expected help with sport and leisure activities.

The second ranked subject was in the creative /construction group of subjects for the West Belfast boys and for all the girls except the Dublin girls where art and English were on equal footing. The London, Dublin and East Belfast boys all had English in second place. The responses probably reflect the choices available; whereas all schools probably provided physical education or sporting activities, not all offered music, drama, woodwork, art, cookery or needlework to all the students all the time. It is likely that where they were available they were popular.

The percentages nominating the 'core' subjects of English and maths/science, history and foreign languages were not high, ranging for English from 17 per cent (WBB) to 48 per cent (London boys)for the boys and from 20 per cent (WEG) to 47 per cent (EBG) for the girls. Quite similar ranges were found for maths/science, though it should be noted that the group with the highest percentage of preferences for these subjects went against the sex stereotype, and that in the coeducational Dublin schools, a slightly higher proportion of girls than boys nominated maths/sciences among their favourites. History and foreign languages came far down the percentages with no more than 20 per cent of any group and as little as 2 per cent from some groups indicating a preference for them. Irish also came low on the list.

Educators should perhaps consider possible reasons for these results. It would seem that novelty value alone cannot be responsible for the popularity of the creative/construction subjects - science was a new subject also in the majority of cases. Educators should also perhaps be concerned that more pupils did not include English and maths/science among their 'likes'. While these are compulsory in all schools, this factor should not necessarily exclude enjoyment and interest, especially for pupils such as those in this sample, who are unlikely to proceed to third level education. Perhaps enough attention is not given to engaging the emotional involvement of pupils which in turn could underpin higher levels of attainment. Tangible proof of progress and reinforcement therefrom is more readily made available in some subject areas - the physical education and creative/constructive areas for example - than in the traditional 'core' subjects. It might be possible to devise relevant motivating factors along similar lines for these subjects.

D. 'School would be better if ......'

The response from one Belfast boy was terse and to the point. He wrote: 'School would be better if ... it got blue (sic) up.' But there were not many of that opinion. The ideas were generally quite modest. Responses were first categorised as in Table V below.

The patterns of response were similar in all groups. Between 75 per cent and 90 per cent of each group's responses were divided between categories b) and c) though the proportions varied by around 10 per cent and b) was higher in some groups and c) in others. Approximately equal percentages were totally negative and totally positive. The Belfast children mentioned punishment more than any other group.

When the responses were analysed in more detail to establish the percentage in each group who mentioned particular issues, the results suggested that the changes requested are in many cases school specific rather than system specific.

TABLE V

Responses to item 'School would be better if....'Analysis A. (Percentages of total number of responses)

	West Belfast Girls	Boys	East Belfast Girls	Boys	London Girls	Boys	Dublin Girls	Boys
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
No change	2	1	1	-	-	4	7	-
Positive suggestions - 'more'	57	42	40	53	54	41	40	29
Negative suggestions - 'less'	39	34	53	43	45	46	52	69
No sanctions	1	13	4	4	-	2	-	3
No school	1	9	1	-	-	8	-	-

This analysis revealed splits along sex lines, but not totally, and also along cultural lines, with the Dublin children being different in certain respects from the others. This may be seen in the case of uniform for example, a bone of deepest contention for all the girls except those in Dublin where two of the three schools had no uniform and in the third just 2 per cent of girls objected and slightly more boys. The length of time spent in school or studying particular subjects was objected to by a high percentage of all the groups of boys... and by the Dublin girls. The Dublin children complained most about homework and this was in line with findings previously published on how they spent their leisure time. A minority in all groups except the Dublin girls had come across bullying. Boys wanted more physical education and sports and boys in Belfast only, complained about corporal punishment. A small minority, especially among the London children, wanted more help, more pressure, more discipline and several groups made requests for more facilities.

TABLE VI

Responses to item 'School would be better if....'Analysis B.
(Percentages of respondents giving each response)

	West Belfast		East Belfast		London		Dublin	
	Girls %	Boys %	Girls %	Boys %	Girls %	Boys %	Girls %	Boys %
Less time	22	25	24	55	16	35	49	62
Less work	10	11	12	3	9	16	9	24
Better Facilities	39	14	8	24	22	6	22	10
No uniform	39	7	35	-	24	6	2	4
More P.E.	7	25	6	17	-	13	7	6
Fewer rules	10	-	8	7	16	13	12	14
No homework	2	11	6	14	2	6	26	36
No slapping	2	25	-	7	-	-	-	-

Other responses with lower percentages included:
no bullies, better teachers, more choices, coeducation, more pressure/work/help, no specified subjects.

Some of the suggestions made, especially those relating to time spent at school would seem to indicate a failure to appreciate what school is trying to accomplish and to appreciate that it will take time and some effort. On the other hand, they may be telling us that time spent in school is boring, that the teaching does not engage their attention or interest, that it appears to be pointless and a waste of time.

CONCLUSIONS

The results from these four items on a questionnaire have shown that most children of 12, whatever their place of residence or religion or sex see employment opportunities as the main potential benefit of attending school and trying to do their best there. There may be a mismatch between this finding and the views of educators who are planning and providing the education in the schools. There may be mismatch also between this finding and the hard economic realities of the times which are resulting already in fewer job opportunities especially for school leavers with no further qualifications.

Nevertheless, the findings indicate that having a job, being employed, working for pay, is an important end-value for 12 year olds. They are not resigned to life without paid employment, to receiving welfare benefits, living a life of leisure.

Given this emphasis on employment, the findings from the third question - what was liked about school - suggest a substantial deficit in the thinking and reasoning processes of the respondents and perhaps also in the thinking processes of those who draw up and justify educational curricula. If students expect to find employment and indeed wish to do so, one might expect them to be interested in and to find enjoyment in learning skills and knowledge which should be of use to them in the employment situation. Instead, it was found that the subjects which were liked best are at the 'leisure' end of the spectrum, where they are available. It is possible that these children are preparing subconsciously for a life without paid employment, where sporting and artistic activities will take up most of their time, but at the same time they are paying lip service to traditional expectations perhaps at the behest of the educators. One can ask whether this is the intention of the educators, and if so whether questions of integrity and honesty might arise.

It is possible also that the responses indicate a preference for the less academic and less intellectual content of particular subjects, or for the ways in which these subjects are taught, or for the kinds of rewards available for progress in them, or for the more clearcut objectives they may have. Objectives in the core subjects may be clear in general terms, but shorter-term goals and progress towards them are not always, perhaps, sufficiently marked or rewarded. Perhaps it is time to examine more critically the underlying issues in a situation where so many children leave school without qualifications or competence in the basic subjects. The fact that they do not enjoy them must tell us something about the content and methods and may also explain the frustrations of the young people. It may be necessary to devise ways of getting in touch with the hearts as well as the minds of the learners. Cognitive psychologists maintain that it is likely to be easier to comprehend a situation or specific material if we are first helped to orient ourselves, to get an overall view of the objectives and are encouraged to ask questions about it and to evaluate our own progress. The introduction of records of achievement in some parts of this island may present an opportunity to explore this approach in the near future.

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THE LOUGH NEAGH MONSTER: RUMOUR AND GLIMPSES OF REALITY REGARDING THE TRANSFER PROCEDURE

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Just as Lough Neagh is central to Northern Ireland geographically, so is the selective form of transfer from primary to post-primary school central to education in the Province. For nearly nine-tenths of pupils selection directly shapes the type of school to which they will go at age eleven. Northern Ireland is alone of the regions of the United Kingdom in retaining selective education for most of its pupils and it will be recalled that one theory regarding the prototypal monster of the title, the Loch Ness Monster, is that she may be a survivor from a prehistoric form of life.

There is another relevant parallel. Just as an air of secrecy and mystery surrounds what may lurk in the depths of an ancient lake (or lough), so too there are mysteries regarding several aspects of the Transfer Procedure, including the setting and marking of the tests and the ways schools prepare their pupils.

The Background

Selection for grammar schools, to which 27 per cent of the age group are admitted, is on the basis of performance in two tests, taken in the autumn term of the final year of primary education, P7. These tests, which are set and marked by the Department of Education, are "of the verbal reasoning kind with some questions designed to test aspects of English and Mathematics".

About a tenth of Northern Ireland post-primary pupils are in systems of education that do not involve selection at age eleven. Pupils can transfer to 'non-selective' secondary schools without sitting the Transfer tests. They may, however, be entered on parental request, a process known as 'opting-in'. They can then compete for a grammar school place on the same basis as any other pupil.

For several years, beginning in 1967, primary principals received copies of a Verbal Reasoning test, accompanied by a Circular which suggested that it be used as a practice test under examination conditions at least once, and that two or three hours in total be spent in familiarising pupils with the types of questions it contained. To do more was declared to be unnecessary and any form of extensive coaching was roundly condemned as "unprofessional conduct". This circular last appeared in 1976-77, after which there was a change in selection methods involving a temporary move away from centrally-administered verbal reasoning tests. Apparently, however, unless a Departmental Circular is officially rescinded it still officially holds good. But with an increasing percentage of primary principals appointed since 1977, its status is becoming less certain in practice. Not surprisingly, therefore, considerable secrecy surrounds the amount of specific preparation carried out in schools for the tests and rumours regarding the massive amounts of coaching in other (always other) schools abound.

Since September 1984 the Northern Ireland Council for Educational Research has been investigating aspects of the Transfer Procedure. This paper draws on findings from a postal survey conducted among principals and teachers of the two upper classes in a one-in-four sample of Northern Ireland primary schools[1] and on a second study, nearing completion, which looked in more detail at sixteen schools.

The paper will concentrate on three topics:

- preparation for the tests;
- effects on the upper primary curriculum;
- the attitudes of parents.

Preparation for the Tests: The Survey

The upper primary survey included direct questions on the timing, amount and nature of special preparation for the tests. Special preparation was carefully defined as practice on past or similar tests or as teaching techniques for tackling test items.

One of the most striking findings was that only six of the 199 participating schools claimed to be spending no more time on preparation for the tests than was recommended by the DENI. The most common account was of beginning preparation in a small way in P6 and of increasing to about five hours a week at the beginning of P7. There was, however, considerable variance in the amount of coaching reported in the survey. According to principals, just before the tests a fifth of the schools coached for two hours a week or less but in a sixth of the sample schools final preparation was declared to occupy at least ten hours a week, a level at which it probably occupied more time than any other curriculum area.

About two-thirds of the questionnaire respondents had felt under pressure to increase preparation time and less than a tenth reported any pressure to decrease it. The two most frequent sources of pressure were a belief that other schools spent more time than they did (49 per cent) and pressures from parents (37 per cent). Further analysis showed, however, that those who feared that other schools were doing more than they (the rumour factor) were in fact themselves doing slightly more than average, though with a slightly below average success rate. Rationalization factors may have been at work.

Effects on the Curriculum

In the survey principals and teachers perceived an increasing effect of the Transfer Procedure throughout the primary years. For example, whereas 92 per cent of the principals thought their P4 curriculum unaffected by Transfer, only 3 per cent thought the P7 curriculum unaffected; approximately equal thirds believed the P7 curriculum to be affected 'Slightly', 'Quite a lot' and 'A lot'.

Three main types of curricular effect emerged from the survey.

First, there was the indisputable fact that time allocated to specific preparation is unavailable for other purposes.

Secondly, many principals and teachers thought the balance of the remaining subjects was distorted because of Transfer. Mathematics and English, the two subject areas included in the tests, were each identified by approximately half the sample as subjects overemphasized because of the tests; these were the only subjects so identified with any frequency. In contrast, almost all the other familiar subject areas were regarded as neglected because of Transfer by an appreciable number of respondents. Heading the list of subjects thought to be severely curtailed were aspects of Environmental Studies, including History, Geography and Science, and also Art and Music.

A third effect, although the evidence was more patchy on this point, was that the Transfer tests were often felt to affect the teaching of certain subjects, notably Mathematics and English. In particular, a number of teachers wrote of having to rush through what should be a seven-year Mathematics syllabus in just over six years, lest questions on untouched topics should occur in the test.

The survey produced evidence on teachers' beliefs about the effects of Transfer on the curriculum rather than data on classroom practices. Many of the teachers and principals complained of the distorting effects of the Procedure on the curriculum and how different would things be if there was no selection tests? There has been evidence from England[2], Wales[3] and Scotland[4], suggesting that the ending of selection has led to fewer curriculum changes than might have been hoped.

In Northern Ireland it is possible to make a partial examination of the effects of Transfer on the curriculum by comparing practices in schools in 'selective' and 'non-selective' areas and this was attempted in the Sixteen Schools study. Eight of the schools were in 'selective' areas and eight in 'non-selective' areas. Only one of the eight 'non-selective'[5] schools, however, had no pupils entered for the tests and indeed had had no entrants for some years. The other seven all had candidates for whom they provided specific preparation, sometimes outside normal class hours or in withdrawal groups. Nevertheless, because of the substantially greater test involvement of pupils in 'selective' areas, one might reasonably hypothesise that there would be directional differences in the curriculum between the two groups of schools, even if not a total contrast.

One major part of the Sixteen Schools study was the completion by teachers of P6 and P7 of a checklist of 98 class activities, which they had helped to compile. For a week at a time, at three separate points of the school year, the teachers indicated every quarter of an hour which of the activities were taking place in their classroom. The 98 activities were later collapsed into larger curriculum categories.

The three occasions when the checklist was completed were early October just before the first test, late January / early February and late June. Thus there were recordings for six points during the final two years of primary schools, as shown in the table.

Particular attention will be given in this paper to four of these points in time.

In Term 2 of Primary 6 (Column 2), approximately six months of teaching time before the tests, there was an essential similarity in the distribution of activities in 'selective' and 'non-selective' areas. At this stage specific Transfer preparation occupied little time in either type of school. In both types of school the greatest amount of time was spent on English, followed by Mathematics. Somewhat unexpectedly, however, Mathematics was allocated more time in the schools in 'non-selective' areas, (24 per cent vs 19 per cent), despite the complaints in the survey of having to rush through the whole primary syllabus in six years. It was also unexpected that the reputedly Cinderella subjects of Environmental Studies, Art and Music were all getting rather more time in the eight schools in 'selective' areas.

Percentage of Teaching Time spent on Ten Curriculum Areas during Six weeks in P6 and P7

	P6			P7		
	Oct	Jan/Feb	June	Oct	Jan/Feb	June
SELECTIVE SCHOOLS						
English	28.5	28.5	23.9	22.2	30.6	31.9
Mathematics	20.0	19.2	13.5	13.2	18.6	15.6
Environmental Studies	15.5	14.2	16.1	10.0	11.8	14.2
Religious Education	9.6	9.3	8.3	9.8	11.7	8.0
Physical & Health Educ.	5.2	7.8	10.8	8.3	9.4	14.4
Art and Craft	11.2	8.5	9.4	9.8	9.1	7.6
Music	4.0	4.1	5.7	4.2	4.2	4.4
Transfer	1.1	3.7	7.3	19.3	0.2	0.0
Computers	0.4	1.3	1.5	0.4	0.1	0.0
Second Language	0.6	1.0	0.0	0.4	0.8	0.0
NON-SELECTIVE SCHOOLS						
English	37.7	31.6	23.4	31.5	34.0	25.6
Mathematics	23.1	24.0	17.0	21.5	25.0	15.1
Environmental Studies	13.7	13.4	18.0	13.0	13.3	17.9
Religious Education	7.3	10.0	7.9	7.5	9.0	6.5
Physical & Health Educ.	6.0	5.7	18.4	7.4	5.4	21.9
Art and Craft	6.3	6.6	4.6	6.5	7.1	3.2
Music	1.8	2.3	2.8	1.5	2.4	3.7
Transfer	0.1	2.0	2.0	5.2	0.0	0.0
Computers	0.5	0.1	1.1	1.5	0.9	0.2
Second Language	1.1	0.0	0.0	1.2	0.0	0.0

The summer-term completing of the Checklist took place in mid-June. This was later than ideal but the Checklist had just been designed and it was advisable to try it out before the critical administration in early October. The amount of time spent in Transfer preparation in June of the P6 year had increased since February, though only in 'selective' areas. What is also striking in Columns 3 and 6 is the increased emphasis on Physical Education. Most of the schools had their annual Sports Day about this time. Some schools devoted a lot of the week to sports activities, in the case of one 'non-selective' school over 50 per cent of the week. Transfer work is evidently not the only thing that may temporarily upset the balance of the curriculum.

The maximum effect of Transfer on the curriculum might be expected immediately before the tests, in early October of the Primary 7 year (Column 4). At this stage, English still retained its primacy in both the 'selective' and 'non-selective' schools but considerable time was spent on direct Transfer preparation in 'selective' areas, some 19 per cent. That, however, is the average of a range of times in different classrooms which varied from 6 per cent to 51 per cent. The apparently lesser emphasis on Transfer work in 'non-selective' areas reflects the fact that often only a small group in a school was entering for the tests; the actual candidates spent only an hour less on Transfer work than did those in 'selective' areas.

Although many teachers in the survey had said that, because of Transfer, Mathematics and English were overemphasized, this hardly seems the case in the Sixteen Schools study. Just before the tests, the teachers in 'non-selective' areas were spending more than half as much time again as those in 'selective' areas on

Mathematics and nearly half as much again on English. If, however, one adds the time spent on English, Mathematics and Transfer work, the totals in both groups were fairly similar (55 per cent and 58 per cent). Transfer preparation was often allocated prime time in the mornings when the children were thought to do their best work. It was therefore competing against Mathematics and Language for these valued slots on the time-table. More time was again being spent on Art and Music in the eight 'selective' schools, although there was some decrease in the time spent on the other reputedly Cinderella subject, Environmental Studies.

In the Spring term of Primary 7, some two months after the tests (Column 5) Transfer work had disappeared from the time-table, apart from one small school where P7 pupils helped to coach those in P6. The time thus released, however, seems to have been allocated mainly to English (which rose from 22 per cent to 30 per cent) and Mathematics (from 13 per cent to 19 per cent). Again, however, more time was spent on English and Mathematics in the 'non-selective' areas, while Art and Music continued to get more attention in the eight 'selective' schools.

The Survey and the Sixteen Schools Study Compared

A comparison of the earlier survey and the Sixteen Schools study shows a basic agreement regarding both the average amount of time spent on coaching for the Transfer tests and also the very considerable variation among schools in this respect. Contrary to the hypotheses generated by the survey, however, Mathematics and English were given more time in the 'non-selective' schools in the sample and the three schools where aesthetic subjects, and in particular Music, were neglected were all in 'non-selective' areas. The question inevitably arises as to how far one can extrapolate from a study of sixteen schools to the whole population of Northern Ireland primary schools. While care was taken to ensure that the schools in 'selective' and 'non-selective' areas were evenly balanced as regards size and religious affiliation, there may have been sampling errors as regards, say, the musical ability of the staff. The survey and the Sixteen Schools study should be seen as complementary. The survey had the strength of large numbers and was staffroom-based rather than classroom-based; the checklist provided more objective classroom data but was limited to fewer schools.

The evidence from the Sixteen Schools study, which also included a good deal of interview material, suggested that the time spent on subjects other than English and Mathematics may depend more on there being a subject enthusiast on the staff than on the location of the school in a 'selective' or 'non-selective' area.

Another issue to be faced is the extent to which the principals and teachers were honest and accurate, especially about the amount of coaching they did. If our data were spurious, then the NICER research itself might be contributing to the myth-making about Transfer. The survey report[6] took the line that we were opening up a hitherto taboo area rather than providing definitive answers. While we know that a few respondents 'laundered' their evidence on coaching, the reasonable degree of congruence between the estimates of special preparation time in the survey and the recorded amounts in the checklist was encouraging. Even in the Sixteen Schools study, however, there were a few marked discrepancies in both directions between what schools said they did on interview and what they later recorded.

Teachers in the school that spent most time coaching, for example, seemed genuinely surprised to learn how much they actually did.

This leads to the question of the extent to which there may be secrets about test preparation even within schools. Recent further analysis of the survey data suggests that principals may have a better idea of the stage at which special preparation begins in the schools than of the amount of time spent on it. Conversely, a teacher may have a better idea than the principal about how much coaching he or she does but be hazy about when it starts in the schools. If schools lack a clear and agreed school policy on Transfer preparation and if teachers in the same schools see themselves in competition in getting pupils to 'pass the 11+', there may be little open discussion on the matter. If, in the early 1960s a former Minister of Education could speak of "the secret garden of the curriculum", then perhaps Transfer preparation may be the secret potting shed. As in the potting shed in Graham Greene's play, there may be mysterious events which are kept secret even from the family.

The Parents, the School and the Transfer Procedure

Parents had rather a bad press in the upper primary survey. As mentioned earlier, more than a third of the principals and teachers had experienced pressure from parents to increase the time on test preparation. One of the main reasons given in another question for disliking an earlier form of selection, in which principals were given the responsibility for the award of Transfer grades to the pupils in their schools, was pressure, or even abuse, from 'unreasonable' parents. The general picture presented by the teachers in both the survey and the Sixteen Schools study was of parents favouring traditional approaches and being over-concerned with Transfer preparation and Transfer prospects.

The Sixteen Schools study included a questionnaire to the parents of P6 and P7 children. One item invited parents to name the three most important things for their child to learn at primary school. Aspects of Language (including reading) and Mathematics were each mentioned by over 96 per cent of parents. (In similar questions in other parts of the research, these subjects also dominated the replies of teachers and pupils.) Next in importance for parents, after a large gap, was Computer Studies (18 per cent). After another, though smaller, gap came Religious Education, aspects of Environmental Studies and Physical Education. Even in 'selective' areas Transfer preparation (7 per cent) was rated at this third level rather than as a top priority subject.

In another question which asked parents in which curriculum areas homework should be set, Mathematics and English again predominated in the replies, each mentioned by at least 85 per cent. Even in 'selective' areas only 4 per cent of parents told us it was important to set Transfer test materials as homework. The picture is different from that presented by the teachers, although it may be the case, assuming the parental sample to be reasonably representative, that the small minority who stressed the importance of Transfer work was sufficiently strident in its demands to colour the teachers' general perceptions of parents.

Although the parents in the sample did not seem to be unduly preoccupied with coaching for the Transfer tests, the percentage hoping that their children would go to grammar schools was twice as high as the provision of grammar school places.

Conclusions

Methodologically, the different emphases emerging from different parts of the NICER project point to the importance, especially when dealing with a complex issue such as Transfer, of having a variety of research approaches and perspectives. Direct evidence from parents and classroom records complemented, qualified and sometimes made us re-question evidence from the earlier upper primary survey.

Secondly, both the survey and the Sixteen Schools study showed considerable variation in the ways schools approached the Transfer tests. While some schools 'went over the top' in their preparation, others endeavoured to maintain a reasonably balanced curriculum.

Thirdly, as so often happens, the evidence points to places where there is scope for improved communication, whether between Department and schools, parents and teachers or even among colleagues.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Sutherland, A.E. and Gallagher, A.M. (1986). *Transfer and the Upper Primary School*. Belfast: NICER.
2. Barker-Lunn, J.C. (1984). 'Junior school teachers: their methods and practices.' *Educational Research*, 26, 178-188.
3. Department of Education and Science, Welsh Office (1985). *A Survey of Primary Schools in part of the Borough of Torfeen, Gwent*. Cardiff: HMSO.
4. Consultative Committee on the Curriculum (1980). *Primary Education in the Eighties: a COPE Position Paper*. Committee on Primary Education, Scotland, Edinburgh: HMSO.
5. Though no primary school has selective entry, the terms 'selective school' and 'non-selective school' are used as a convenient shorthand for schools in 'selective' and 'non-selective' areas.
6. Sutherland, A.E. and Gallagher, A.M. (1986). *Transfer and the Upper Primary School*. Belfast: NICER.

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